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"Falls of the Passaic"

AN EXHIBITION, OCTOBER 1 TO DECEMBER 27, 1958

THE Great Falls of the Passaic at Paterson attracted travelers both European and American for more than two centuries. No one could possibly return home without having seen this inspiring sight. Although the waterfall is dwarfed by those now so well known at Niagara and the Yosemite, the Passaic Falls more than made up for its size by the spectacle of the leap of the waters into a rugged chasm of massive and sheer rock walls. It was a natural subject for artists from the outset and soon became one of the most limned spots in all the colonies.

Even after the Passaic became one of the first industrial centers of the country in the late eighteenth century and the Great Falls began to lose some of its pure natural beauty, visitors came in even greater numbers. Its fame was spread by artists whose representations graced more and more American homes and by print makers who published their prints of this popular subject in New Jersey, New York, and Philadelphia, in London and Paris.

This exhibition had its inception when it was learned that *Antiques Magazine* would publish an article on early prints of the Passaic Falls by Mr. Harold J. Dahl and Mr. George Connor, partners in the Equitable Appraisal Company of New York. Mr. Dahl of Towaco and Mr. Connor of Clifton have been happily collecting prints and drawings of the Falls for some time. They kindly consented to lend many of their pieces as the basis for this exhibition, which opens simultaneously with the appearance of their article. Several paintings, prints, and drawings are from

the collections of the Society. Other lenders generously contributing to this exhibit are:

Mr. Harry B. Haines, Paterson
New Jersey Bank and Trust Company, Paterson
The New-York Historical Society, New York
The Passaic County Historical Society, Paterson
Mrs. Samuel Schwartz, Paterson

The exhibition is open Tuesdays through Saturdays, except holidays, from 10 A.M. to 4:30 P.M.

ROBERT M. LUNNY

CATALOGUE

1. PASSAIC FALLS N.J. *Engraved for the Ariel from a drawing by Thos. Doughty.* Engraving 3¼ in. x 5 in. From the Nineteenth Century ladies' book. Collection Harold J. Dahl and George Connor.
2. VIEW OF PATERSON, N.J. . . . *Passaic River is seen in front of the factory buildings.* Woodcut, colored, 3¼ in. x 6½ in. From early edition of *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey* . . . by John W. Barber and Henry Howe. Collection Dahl-Connor.
3. PROSPECT OF THE PAYSAICK FALLS IN NEW-JERSEY. Engraving 3¾ in. x 6½ in. From the *Columbian Magazine* of 1789. Collection Dahl-Connor.
4. A NORTH VIEW OF THE PISAIACK FALLS, IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW JERSEY IN NORTH AMERICA. *The Height of the Fall 67 Feet. Drawn on the Spot by Thos Davies Capt Lieut of the Royal Regt of Artillery. Sold by Rt. Wilkinson No. 125 Fenchurch Street.* Engraving 13⅜ in. x 19⅞ in. From the drawing of 1766. Collection The New Jersey Historical Society.
5. SOURCE OF THE PASSAIC FALLS. *Engraved & Printed by Fenner, Sears & Co. London, Published Nov. 15, 1831, by I. T. Hinton & Simpkin & Marshall.* Engraving 4¼ in. x 6⅜ in. Collection Dahl-Connor.
6. PASSAIC FALLS. Oil painting 41⅞ in. x 36⅛ in. showing an Indian in the foreground. By Jesse Talbot (1806-1879). Talbot, an associate member of the National Academy, lived in Paterson 1844-1847. Collection The New Jersey Historical Society.
7. PASAIC. Water color 7¼ in. x 11½ in. signed "H. S. S. 1841" showing the young lady artist in the foreground and a factory in the background. Collection Mrs. Samuel Schwartz.
8. PASAIC FALLS. Water color 8 in. x 10 in. unsigned undoubtedly by the same hand as No. 7. Collection Mrs. Samuel Schwartz.

9. To the Right Honble Earl Harcourt, This View of the Rocks at Pesaic in East Jersey, taken on the Spot; *Is most humbly dedicated, by Henry Hamilton, delin. Engraved by W. Byrne. London, publishd . . . Novr 1, 1777, by W. Byrne No. 69, Wells Street, Oxford Street.* Engraving, colored 7 in. x 14 in. Collection Dahl-Connor.
10. Boy with Whip. Oil painting 23 in. x 19 in. unsigned. An early nineteenth-century primitive showing Passaic Falls in the background. Collection Mrs. Samuel Schwartz.
11. Passaic Falls. Water color 15½ in. x 20½ in. showing Indians in the foreground and in a canoe. Dated "1798" in pencil upper left Inscribed lower right "Drawn by my father Archibald Robertson [1765-1835]. Andrew J. Robertson, 19 West 35th St. N. Y." Alexander and Archibald Robertson were brothers and conducted the influential Columbian Academy in New York. See No. 12. Collection The New Jersey Historical Society.
12. Passaic Falls in the State of New Jersey. *F. Jukes Sculpsit. Alexander Robertson Delineavit. London pubd. January 1st, 1802 by F. Jukes No. 10 Howland Street and by A. Robertson Columbian Academy Liberty Street New York.* Aquatint 13 in. x 18½ in. Collection Dahl-Connor.
13. View at Paterson New Jersey. Water color 12 in. x 17 in. showing Passaic River and Garret Mountain. Signed and dated "Juliet Martin New York July 1797." Collection Harry B. Haines.
14. Passaic Falls, New Jersey. *Engraved by J. Hill. Painted by J. Shaw. Published by M. Carey & Son, Philadelphia.* Engraving 13⅜ in. x 9⅝ in. Collection The New Jersey Historical Society.
15. Passaic River, Below the Falls. Companion piece to No. 14.
16. Passaic Falls Paterson N.J. *Engd. by Geo. E. Perine N. York. Drawn by J. L. Giles, N.Y.* Engraving 4¾ in. x 7 in. Collection The Passaic County Historical Society.
17. Passaic Falls. Oil painting 20¾ in. x 28¼ in. signed and dated lower left "X. Meyer, 1880." Xavier Meyer is listed in the Paterson Directory of 1881 as a machinist at 34 Ellison Street. Collection Harold J. Dahl.
18. Commencement of Passaic falls. *Amerique Septentrionale—Etat de New Gersey.* Colored lithograph 7½ in. x 11⅜ in. Lithographed by Dupressoir and Adam after J. R. Smith. Published Paris 1825 by H. Gaugain. Collection Dahl-Connor.
19. Passaic falls. Companion piece to No. 18 and No. 20. Lithographed by Tirpenne and Adam after J. Milbert.
20. View on the Passaic River. Companion piece to No. 18. and No. 19. Lithographed by Bichebois and Adam after J. Milbert.
21. Passaic Falls in the Spring. Oil painting on panel 23½ in. x 33 in.

signed lower left center "In haste T. W. Whitley." Whitley lived in Paterson about 1835-1839. Collection The New Jersey Historical Society.

22. Passaic Falls in the Autumn. Companion piece to No. 21.
23. View of Passaic Falls, New Jersey. Sepia drawing 4⅜ in. x 7 in. By William Henry Bartlett. For N. P. Willis, *American Scenery* (1840), Volume II, page 60, No. 98. The original drawing for several prints, including No. 24. Collection The New-York Historical Society.
24. View of the Passaic Falls. Engraving 4¾ in. x 7¼ in. By J. Sands after W. H. Bartlett. One of the several prints after No. 23. Collection Dahl-Connor.
25. A View of the Falls on the Passaick, *or Second River, in the Province of New Jersey. Sketch'd on the spot by his Excellency Governor Pownal. Painted and Engraved by Paul Sandby. London publish'd . . . 20 May 1761, by Thos. Jefferys the Corner of St. Martin's Lane.* Engraving 12¾ in. x 20 in. Also included in *Scenographia Americana,* published in 1768. Collection The New Jersey Historical Society.
26. Source of the Passaic Falls. *J. & F. Tallis, London & New York.* Engraving 4¼ in. x 6¼ in. with vignette border. Collection Dahl-Connor.
27. Waterfall on the Passaic, New Jersey. *Published 24th May 1827, by R. H. Laurie, 53 Fleet Street, London.* Engraving colored 10 in. x 16½ in. A print based on No. 25, published sixty-six years earlier. Collection Dahl-Connor.
28. The Passaic, below Little Falls. Woodcut colored 6 in. x 9 in. By Harley after Jules Tavernier. From *Picturesque America; or, The Land We Live in* . . . (New York, 1874), edited by William Cullen Bryant, Volume II, page 55. Collection Dahl-Connor.
29. Pres des Chutes de la Passaic. Engraving colored 8 in. x 5 in. By Charlotte, Comtesse de Survilliers, daughter of Joseph Bonaparte of Bordentown, former king of Naples and of Spain. Collection Dahl-Connor.
30. Passaick River, at Paterson, N.J. Sepia wash drawing 7 in. x 9 in. By August Köllner, dated "July 4, 1845." Collection The New Jersey Historical Society.
31. Passaic Falls. Painting on velvet 21½ in. x 25½ in. Catharine Van Houten, daughter of Gerrebrandt Van Houten, a Paterson lawyer of the early nineteenth century. Copied from a print by W. S. Leney published in New York, 1807. Collection New Jersey Bank and Trust Company.

Also selected photographs, manuscripts, and books.

The Hoax of the Pedagogues

JAMES J. FLYNN AND
CHARLES A. HUGUENIN

THE AUTHORS: *Dr. Flynn is chairman, Department of Social Studies, Fordham University School of Business, and a Brooklyn resident. Dr. Huguenin, assistant professor of English, Iona College, lives in New York. Each has written several journal articles and a book, the present article being their second joint production.*

DURING the last half of the nineteenth century, Schooley's Mountain, located three miles from Hackettstown in New Jersey, won an enviable reputation among health-seekers as the "Saratoga of New Jersey."[1] To the water of its springs, heavily charged with iron salts, were attributed medicinal properties, especially for sufferers from kidney trouble. In 1852 two enterprising physicians from High Bridge, Doctor William Taylor and Doctor Moore, had established a sanitarium there, which attracted patrons from the bon ton circles of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, New Orleans, and other cities. Every summer its two immense hotels, the Heath House and Belmont Hall, with accommodations for seven hundred, filled time and again with socially prominent people arriving in tallyhoes and expensive equipages. Even after Delaware Water Gap and Pocono Mountain resorts eclipsed its prestige, there were many with unshaken convictions that Schooley's Mountain was the most salubrious place in the United States and that deluded Ponce de Leon merely wasted time in his weary search elsewhere for the Fountain of Youth. Local loyalty remained steadfast as a later generation of Vanderbilts, Goulds, Astors, and Roosevelts patronized other vacation lands. The faith of the Honorable H. W. Hunt, who boasted a long period of residence on Schooley's Mountain, transcended time and change. In 1909, after the locality had lost caste and its popularity had passed into memory, he quipped: "Why, this place is so healthful that several years ago, when we wanted to establish a graveyard, we had to kill a man to get it started."[2]

[1] "Schooley's Mountain," *Washington Star*, December 9, 1909.
[2] *Ibid.*

Schooley's Mountain, however, had been accorded a distinction of a different nature in a more remote period in the annals of Morris County. Among the natives of Morristown there was a tradition, current in post-Revolutionary War years, that the mountain, some twenty miles to the west, was the repository of buried treasures.

The tradition had its source in the common belief that during the Revolution, many Tories had secreted in the earth large sums of money and quantities of plate to preclude their seizure by the patriots. When the cause of the Crown was defeated, these British sympathizers were expatriated, their estates were confiscated, and the antipathy against them made their return fruitless and even downright dangerous. One advertisement that appeared in 1799 will serve as an example of many such announcements of confiscated estates that were placed upon the open market in Morris and in other counties of New Jersey. In that year Public Commissioners Alexander Carmichael and Aaron Kitchel offered for sale

> the houses, lands, and leases for life, and all the real estate that belongs to Thomas Millidge, Stephen Skinner, John Troop, John Steward, Ezekiel Beach, Joseph Conliff, John Thornborn, Asher Dunham, Richard Bowlsby, John Bowlsby, Edward Bowlsby, Philip van Cortland, Samuel Ryerson, Jacob Demarest, Isaac Hornbeck, William Howard, and Lawrence Buskerk.[3]

Their portable goods, consigned to secret caches in the earth, allegedly remained as these banished enemies of American independence had buried them.

Besides those of undeniably pro-British propensities were others, many reputedly rich, who had pursued an equivocal course during the war by ostensibly identifying themselves with the patriots but parading secretly under the hateful "British protection." They, too, it was said, buried their portable valuables for safe-keeping against the time of peace.

On the other hand, Whigs often resorted to this measure in order to safeguard their valuables from confiscation by an impecunious government harassed continually by the onerous demands of war. Many of these adherents to the cause of freedom had died on the battlefields or in the prisons and "floating hells"

[3]Joseph F. Tuttle, D.D., "The Morristown Ghost," *Historical Magazine*, Vol. I, Series 3 (January, 1872), p. 5.

during the struggle. Elihu Bond, who had served as a private in the New Jersey line, was one of the fortunate Whigs who returned to recover his hidden goods. "During the war he buried a small chest containing silverware and money; and when, at the close of the war, he went to recover his buried treasure, he found it undisturbed and intact."[4]

To what extent Schooley's Mountain served as the common receptacle for valuables in a country plunged in war is questionable. Rumor accorded the practice wide extension, notwithstanding, and the imagination of the Morris County folk exaggerated the bulk of these secret deposits. After the war, excavating in Schooley's Mountain, which is really not a single mountain but a veritable range of highlands, without knowing the precise location of these caches, was an impossible undertaking. This, however, was not the only barrier to the recovery of these buried treasures. The hoards were zealously guarded by sleepless and mighty demons that, in the imagination of the superstitious folk of Morris County, peopled the mountain.

There is abundant testimony in the historical literature of Morris County that its inhabitants in general accepted without question the existence of supramundane beings. "The staid people of this vicinity [Morristown]," avers a Morris County historian of 1882, "were no exception to the general belief of that time in ghosts."[5] Belief in witches a full century after the Salem "witch ordeal" was still as firmly rooted as the people's belief in their own existence. "It is obvious to all who are acquainted with the county of Morris," wrote a contemporary commentator, "that the existence of witches is adopted by the generality of the people."[6] The superstitious folk of Morris County tenanted the universe with all kinds of other mysterious creatures besides ghosts and witches:

> Witches and hobgoblins held their powwows in the old Indian burying-ground . . . Will-o-the-wisp was a spook, often seen, by the timid ones, along the Rockaway-river, from the Owl-kill up to Dover, and farther, too . . . Then, elf-shooting was often witnessed — for instance, a cow shot through, from side to side, with a ball of hair, without wounding the

[4]Andrew M. Sherman, *Historic Morristown, N.J.* (Morristown, 1905), p. 415.

[5]W. W. Munsell, *History of Morris County* (New York, 1882), p. 128.

[6]"Philanthropist," *The Morristown Ghost* (Newark, New Jersey Reprint Society, 1896), p. 10.

skin! It was an age of necromancy and heathenish superstition . . . Spooks and Will-o-the-wisps were often seen, and were frequently made the sober theme of the domestic circle when seated before the good old-fashioned fire, on a cold wintry night.[7]

In a universe replete with sensuously imperceivable beings, Schooley's Mountain was accorded a full complement. The particular wraiths deputed to guard the treasures buried in its bowels were alleged by some to be the ghosts of those who had been brutally murdered and buried with the valuables in the caches. To acquire these deposits of plate and specie, one was constrained either to put the supramundane sentinels off their guard or to propritiate their favor. Only one who possessed the occult art of dispelling the guardian spirits could hope to annex the treasure hoards.

In the summer of the year 1788, two natives of Morris County were on a journey through New York State in search of such an anomaly in the Domesday Book of Human Nature. At a place called Smith's Clove in Orange County, they became acquainted with a shrewd Yankee schoolmaster, one Ransford Rogers, whose home was in Connecticut. Charmed with Rogers' affability and goaded by cupidity, they soon disclosed to him their purpose. Their artful acquaintance with a suave mien and a sanctimonious manner professed a thorough knowledge of "chymistry," as he called it, and of other arts and sciences. He boasted with convincing confidence that he could not only raise spirits, good and evil, but also dispel them. The weird quest of the gullible Morris County natives was fulfilled; they had found the very man whom they sought. They urged him to accompany them to Morristown for a demonstration of his skill in "chymistry" and of his vaunted power over denizens of the invisible world.

Whether the cute Yankee pedagogue would have consented to any such fantastic undertaking without the incentive of a teaching position is open to conjecture. After his acquaintances had assured him of a job in a school about three miles west of Morristown on the Mendham Road, he left Smith's Clove to assume responsibilities of his new post.

[7]Tuttle, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

It was early in the month of August of the year 1788 that Rogers undertook his teaching duties near the town that was destined to see and to hear a great deal of this calculating pedagogue in forms other than those ostensibly material. As the month wore away, Rogers apparently gave complete satisfaction to his employers, evidence of his surprising capabilities to the community, and exciting motivation to his lessons. The two treasure-seekers, contrariwise, were secretly far from satisfied. They eagerly importuned him for some testimony of his occult powers. The exigency of proving the validity of his thrasonical assertions about dispelling the demons on Schooley's Mountain sent him on a hurried trip late in August to Connecticut, ostensibly to fetch his family, but actually to find among his fellow "chymists" an accomplice in the practice of the black art. He seems to have experienced little difficulty in securing the offices of a kindred spirit. He was back in Morristown in the early part of September with another Yankee schoolmaster named Goodenough. (How early in the perpetration of his hoax Rogers realized that more than one assistant was necessary is not known, but it is obvious that he was abetted by more than one ally after he was fully launched.)[8]

In September of 1788, then, Rogers was finally prepared to begin operations in dispelling the hobgoblins and apparitions that had frustrated all attempts to break ground on Schooley's Mountain. The first meeting, attended by about eight eager participants, is said to have been held at the house of L——, a carpenter and farmer, who lived in a lonely region called "Solitude," west of the schoolhouse on the Mendham Road. During the meeting, conducted in guarded secrecy, Rogers assured those assembled that treasures were indubitably buried in Schooley's Mountain, but that the spirits who guarded them had to be raised and consulted before they would be made available to the living. Because he himself was thoroughly acquainted with the inscrutable mores of spirits, he proposed to serve as medium between the seekers and the guardians of the treasures.

To guarantee the members of the group that there was no de-

[8] "Philanthropist," *op. cit.*, p. 18.

ception, he promised by means of his art and power to raise the apparitions before their very eyes. Thereupon they could actually hear him converse with those of the other world. He solemnly admonished the elect to refrain from acts of immorality. Divagations from a strict moral code would offend the omniscient denizens of darkness and frustrate the attempt to recover the buried treasures. From the initial meeting the fraudulent project assumed a somewhat religious turn that Rogers shrewdly incorporated into patterns of subsequent rites. Nature had fortuitously endowed the hoaxer wth a pious demeanor that belied any incongruity between the sanctity of form and the spirit of greed that impelled all.

While the meeting was in progress, thumping noises were heard on the roof and on the sides of the house. A voice, apparently out of this world, uttered close by the window, "Press forward!" By these means the ones gathered inside were given convincing proof that they stood upon enchanted ground. With terror, not unmingled with satisfaction, they accorded Rogers their complete confidence and full co-operation. They left the meeting with abounding faith in the ability, knowledge, and power of their interlocutor. Rogers, on his part, had tested with satisfaction a tentative belief that he could, by playing upon their naivete and their credulity, gull money from their pockets. He was not slow to realize that the whole situation favored the success of some fraudulent scheme. The dupes themselves had already manufactured from their superstitious imaginations the very means by which they could be gulled. Their cupidity and superstitious natures made them easy victims, and the deception was launched under the brightest prospects of success.

The tempting glitter of prospective gold and the irresistible impulse to communicate to others the hope of gain were instrumental in swelling the membership of the cult. So eager were others to join the coterie of treasure-seekers that every day new members joined the original eight, and the numbers soon increased to forty. At subsequent meetings Rogers, who appeared to be on easy and frequent conversational terms with the guardian spirits, communicated the substance of his mysterious interviews to his followers.

Rogers was too canny, however, to rely solely upon mere reports of alleged communications with the spirits for the success of his venture. He realized that these would eventually pall upon the members and ultimately defeat his purpose. Early in the development of the venture, one of the cult, allegedly L——, espied one dark night a sheeted ghost gliding through the darkness without establishing any apparent contact with the ground. The apparition was no more figment of an overwrought imagination, and no one was better qualified than Rogers to attest the truth of this. The witness fled to his house, half dead with fright. He later recounted the terrifying experience to friends in the cult, and the story confirmed the faith of his deluded companions. Rogers must have secretly exulted in the success of his role as ghost. "Gliding about on stilts"[9] was by no means the only talent in the repertoire of this truly remarkable man.

His knowledge of "chymistry" was also marshaled to activate the credulity of the "Spirit Batch." He and his accomplices secretly experimented with explosive compounds and evolved promising results. At one of the early meetings Rogers gathered the members of the cult into a field near the meeting house and flung the chemicals into the sky before the eyes of the wondering group. They exploded on the night air in a variety of appearances, downright extraordinary if nothing short of mysterious. The design of the hoaxer to play upon the active imaginations of his audience did not miscarry. These and subterranean explosives, previously planted and timed to discharge during the night to enhance their dismal effect and to engender timidity in the souls of the elect, were pronounced by the awed group to be, without equivocation, of supernatural origin and character.

The hoaxer racked his fecund brain for agents other than shrouded ghosts and explosive chemical compounds to promote the success of his machinations. He finally found a new one in alcohol. Its power never disappointed in stimulating the imaginative propensities of his superstitious followers, and its effects helped Rogers immeasurably to inculcate in them a felicitous suspension of disbelief. The quaffing of the best applejack ac-

[9]Tuttle, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

cordingly became an inextricable part of the established rites, and the members imbibed liberal draughts with impunity upon spiritual injunction.

The following story proves that Rogers never underestimated the power of this agent in swamping skepticism whenever it reared its unwelcome head to undermine faith in his extravagant allegations. One of Rogers' confirmed followers was Colonel Benoni Hathaway, who had taken an active part in the Revolution on the patriotic side and had fought like a tiger at the second Battle of Springfield. The intrepidity in the good colonel's nature was, unfortunately, too heavily weighted with superstition for his own good. It is reported that he spent a whole night with a neighbor in efforts to relieve the poor man's wife of the diabolical influence of witches. His house graced the well-adjusted horseshoe, nailed in such a position that its mysterious artillery would strike the inimical witch "between wind and water."[10] This weakness made him an easy victim to Rogers' clever designs.

Not content with being a mere follower, the colonel apparently felt an urge to proselyte. One of those singled out for this dubious honor of conversion was Abraham Ketchel, the public commissioner's brother. When Ketchel attended a meeting, at which the prime mover was absent, he displayed throughout the ceremonies an annoying attitude of skepticism. To dispel this, the colonel produced a paper on which appeared the figure of a hand, allegedly drawn by one of the demons in Schooley's Mountain. Ketchel scrutinized the drawing and sneered that any boy or any old woman could have drawn one as good.

When Rogers later made inquiries to find out if Ketchel had joined the cult, he learned that the prospective novitiate had refused to surrender his doubts and to share the faith of the others.

"Did you treat him?" inquired Rogers.

"Yes, before he left," was the reply.

"There's the mistake," Rogers shrewdly observed. "You ought to have treated him when he first came so that, whilst the prayers were going on, the spirits might have been at work in him to raise his ideas."

[10]Joseph F. Tuttle, "Revolutionary Fragments, Morris County, N.J.," *Annals of Morris County*, No. 11 (n.p., n.d.), unpaged.

The ceremonial agenda was doubtless revamped, and the distribution of spirituous beverages to assuage suspicious doubts about the validity of spiritual manifestations was given precedence before any other event on future programs. Abraham Ketchel, however, was irretrievably lost as a possible member of Rogers's "Spirit Batch." Colonel Benoni Hathaway, on the other hand, went on to become treasurer-elect—an office that proved disastrously expensive after the bubble burst and he was obliged to make good on the receipts for money with which Rogers had absconded.

So impatient did the elect become to engage actively in the excavation of the treasures that a general meeting was called. Though the night designated for the meeting was a stormy one, every member was in attendance. Some, it is said, rode distances of eight and twelve miles at the jeopardy of their health to attend this spirit conventicle. It was at this meeting that one of the spirits unexpectedly made its appearance and proceeded to lay down rules of conduct for a future meeting in November. In a remote field in "Solitude," one-half of a mile removed from any house and bordered on the north and west by a thick wood, they would be asked to group themselves in formations of angles and circles under Rogers' direction. The supramundane visitant warned them that keeping within the specified angles and circles was obligatory. Any deviation from these confined limits would result in their immediate extirpation.

One wonders why this proscription called for a special meeting. Perhaps it was a precautionary measure to prevent an accident in the event that any of the elect trod inadvertently upon a buried explosive charge that Rogers had perfected for the occasion. On the other hand, it may have been designed only to prevent the more inquisitive from wandering about and making embarrassing discoveries. The time was fast approaching when Rogers hoped to reap rich rewards on a venture in which he had a huge investment in terms of time and effort.

The morning before the November convocation, the owner of a buckwheat field in "Solitude" was puzzled in discovering that a great variety of paths—circular, elliptical, square, and serpentine—had been marked off in the buckwheat stubble within the

compass of a single night. That evening, when the dupes themselves saw these fanciful paths, they were convinced that a thousand men could not have performed the task done clandestinely by Rogers and his assiduous assistants, and they unhesitatingly ascribed it to demoniac power.

It was after ten o'clock in the evening that the forty took places in silence and with awed solemnity within the paths, convinced beyond a doubt that the dark environs were replete with carping apparitions and hobgoblins that watched the proceedings with studied attention. Rogers himself presided over the rites under a cloth spread over four posts embedded in the ground near one of the circles. Around and around within the circumscribed paths marched the elect in solemn procession. The fitful light shed by candles that illuminated only one part of a circle cast the weird ceremonies in an appalling gloom. A subterranean chemical compound, that had been planted a few hours before the convocation, exploded a short distance from them with a deafening detonation. Flames rising to a considerable height illuminated the circumambient atmosphere for an instant. The familiar forms of their terrified neighbors became grotesque silhouettes before darkness again shrouded them in obscurity. When silence closed in on them, they were conditioned to catch the faintest whisper addressed to them and to assign it to the guardian spirits.

Under such propitious circumstances, the alleged ghosts were not slow in making themselves manifest by means of hideous groans. They remained invisible to the elect, but they conversed with Rogers through mechanical devices that covered their mouths and made identification of their voices impossible.

Old precepts, which Rogers had emphasized from the beginning, were iterated by the ghosts. Rogers' experience in the classroom had taught him the value of sheer repetition. The ghostly visitants instructed the dupes to recognize Rogers as their mundane leader and to obey implicitly his commands. The ghosts professed to hold within their possession vast buried treasures, which fate had elected the dupes to receive. The dupes were adjured to observe regulations meticulously and to refrain from defrauding their neighbors. Any transgressions would become known to the spirits, who were possessed of omniscience.

At this point Rogers finally showed his hand, but it was done unobtrusively through the agency of spiritual precept. According to the spirits, it was incumbent upon each of the forty intent listeners to deposit with Rogers an acknowledgment—whatever this may mean in the nomenclature of interspiritual-human relationships. The acknowledgment consisted of the sum of twelve pounds, equivalent to about thirty dollars, as a desideratum for the acquisition of the coveted hoards in Schooley's Mountain.

While the conversation between Rogers and the ghosts was in progress, the forty elect were on their knees within the mystic circle. Several times the spirits without the circle raged in high dudgeon and seemed about to close in on them to destroy them, but the incantations of Rogers propitiated their murderous intent. Some of the dupes had brought their acknowledgment, which they tendered to Rogers. With due observance to the rituals of sorcery, Rogers proceeded to deposit the collection, which was substantial, at the foot of a nearby tree. A sheeted ghost, suffused in a sulphurous odor, glided out of the darkness beyond the configurations of paths to appropriate the money in a gesture that smacked decidedly of the mundane. How the pockets in its shroud must have bulged!

It was about three o'clock in the morning before Rogers dispelled the menacing spirits, and the rites came to a close. The dupes disbanded with renewed faith in the existence of apparitions, hobgoblins, and ghosts and a profound reverence for their medium, whom they regarded as something more than man. If any thought that the desire of supramundane beings for a mundane commodity like money was eccentric, it is not recorded. No one apparently wondered at the spirits' excessive greed for accretions to the well-stocked underground bank of treasure in Schooley's Mountain.

No despot in the history of absolute monarchism wielded more power over his subjects than Rogers exercised over his followers. Had he arbitrarily put one of them to death, his action would have been condoned by the rest. All the influence he exerted, nevertheless, failed in some impecunious cases, and he was constrained to reduce the acknowledgment to £6, and even to £4. In lieu of silver and gold, he was also forced to accept the less desirable paper money. "Loan money," then current in New

Jersey, was not worth much and had little value in other states.[11] The time would come when the environs around healthful Schooley's Mountain would be far from salubrious for Rogers, and he was already anticipating a hasty departure.

After the impressive meeting in November, there sprang up among the dupes a spirit of keen rivalry to be first in delivering the acknowledgment. Disputes engendering animosities arose among them. Some found it exceedingly difficult to raise the sum demanded by the spirits at a time when the entire country was impoverished by war. As the winter wore away, they sought various means to raise the money. Some mortgaged their farms; others sold their cattle and horses at half their value. They unhesitatingly gave nearly any discount or interest that was demanded for hard cash.

In the meantime, Rogers led a very busy life. Frequent meetings were held in some undisclosed room behind a barred door and fastened shutters. The interviews, designed to maintain the ebullience of the members of his cult, were punctuated with groans and other manifestations, emanating from mysterious sources without. Boards fell in the chamber, silver and gold coins clinked at the window, and a sepulchral voice croaked "Press forward!" Members were occasionally roused from sleep by a nocturnal visitant, shrouded in a white sheet, and were enjoined to summon their brethren to meetings at specified times in designated places. Some time in March the bulk of the money had apparently been turned over to the spirits because it was then that the spirits began to adjure the dupes to have faith, to be of good cheer, to keep all transactions secret, and to look for the annexation of the treasures in May.

For the dupes the realization of cupidinous hopes and of cherished dreams was finally near at hand. The rascally pedagogues, on the other hand, looked forward (with uneasy misgivings) to the meeting in May, Many machinations were entertained in secret conclaves of the schemers to circumvent the apparently inevitable and certainly discouraging trip to Schooley's Mountain. Even in this impending extremity, Rogers' ingenuity did not fail.

[11]Tuttle, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Sherman, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

On April 30, 1789, George Washington took the oath of office at Federal Hall, New York City, to become our first president. On the following evening forty deluded souls convened in a large prescribed circle on an open field near Morristown to await the appearance of spirits for instructions about locating alleged caches of treasure in Schooley's Mountain. The ghosts promptly appeared at a distance removed from the circle, but it became obvious immediately that the wraiths were in an angry mood. They upbraided the elect with irregular conduct, faithlessness, and violations of secrecy. They manifested terrifying symptoms of irascibility, twisted themselves into hideous postures, and emitted frightening groans. Rogers himself feigned alarm and exercised all his necromantic skill to placate the choleric ghosts. To him the terrorized dupes looked for protection. They were so intimidated that, propritiously for Rogers and his associates, thoughts of recovering the treasures were banished from their minds. The guardian spirits maintained that because the members of the cult had manifested wicked proclivities and animosities, they were debarred for the time being from access to the treasures. Only by recourse to a variety of incantations was Rogers finally successful in dispelling the ghostly visitants. When the elect soon dispersed, their credulity unaccountably survived, and their confidence in the Yankee schoolmaster remained unshaken.

The charge of violation of secrecy, made by the spirits, was not entirely groundless. The existence of some strange enterprise was suspected by more than one wife whose slumbers were disturbed by a shrouded visitant and whose husband absented himself from home on frequent and mysterious missions. The smell of liquor that accompanied noncommittal explanations must have placed a severe strain on harmonious domestic relationships. Burning with curiosity, some of the women compared notes, and the community that winter had been rife with vague rumors.

The cunning pedagogical rogue and his associates had prospered in their fraudulent game. They had swindled their dupes out of about eight hundred or a thousand dollars. Had they stopped at this juncture, Rogers would have been perennially and pleasantly remembered among them as a skillful "chymist," indubitably qualified to raise even the Devil himself. In fact, there is

good reason to believe that Rogers did wish to let the hoax rest. No doubt he realized that any prolongation of the game would be attended with risks because it entailed an enlargement of the circle of those acquainted with his pretensions. With two notable exceptions, nothing about his traffic with inhabitants of the world beyond was definitely known outside the closed membership of forty, who had already been fleeced.

It appears that Rogers's seances became known to two shrewd young Yankees, who were also engaged in the profession of teaching school. These two pedagogues may have been privy to the meetings held that winter and spring, and they may even have served as Rogers' aids. According to tradition, they forced Rogers into launching another similar venture after he had appropriated the lion's share of the first by threatening to expose him. Whatever coercion may have been applied, Rogers found that a second sally into fraud appealed to his enterprising and covetous soul, and he went to work with becoming alacrity and vigor.

Once the decision was reached, Rogers' two accomplices moved in April of 1789 twenty miles from Morristown in order to win proselytes. One Morristown historian found evidences of their nefarious activities, besides Morristown, in Bottle Hill, Hanover, Rockaway, Dover, Rockaway Valley, and other places.[12] They maintained contact with Rogers by means of letters and frequent visits. Their work went forward with success, and they seduced even prominent members of different communities. Rogers apparently supervised their activities closely, to the extent of excluding from the circle of initiates those who threatened to give difficulty or present problems.

It is with the high priest of this cult and his activities in and around Morristown that we must, for lack of detailed accounts about the propagation of the faith elsewhere, confine ourselves. Precisely when Rogers moved into Morristown from the outskirts to teach in a select school near the First Presbyterian Church seems to be an unimportant matter of dispute, but tradition maintains that he took lodgings in the house of Colonel Benoni Hathaway.[13]

[12]Tuttle, *op. cit.* (February, 1872), p. 66.

[13]*Morristown Daily Herald,* July 23, 1949; another newspaper clipping, unidentified and undated, in the vertical files of the Morristown Library.

The second venture began with a coterie of only five, carefully selected for their credulity no doubt, who met in an undesignated room, allegedly in the house of L—— in "Solitude." The work of gulling them progressed with some improvement in technique. Old elements, such as distributing ample quantities of applejack, marching them in a circular procession, and frightening them with manifestations from without, were retained. A new element, involving legerdemain, was introduced at the first, or perhaps at a subsequent meeting at L——'s house.

Each dupe selected a sheet of paper during the rites and, extending it out of the door, waited for the attendant spirit to write on one of the sheets instructions about how they should proceed. After waiting for some time, each one folded his paper, which was collected. Rogers must have been somewhat unprepared, for he needed more time for consideration. The group was thereupon dismissed with instructions to convene on the subsequent evening.

When the members met again, they first united in prayer on bended knees. Then, in the order of their age, they marched around the room as many times as there were members present and filed singly before a table in the middle of the room. As they passed, each drew from Rogers a piece of folded paper. They then left the house and retired to a small circle about twelve feet in diameter, within which they all stepped. They proceeded to unfold their papers in the dark and fell to their faces with their eyes closed to engage in prayer. At the same time they extended their papers in one hand. The spirit was accorded an opportunity to enter the circle and to write instructions on one of the proferred sheets. When Rogers finally ejaculated "Amen," the prayers ceased. The dupes folded their papers, rose, and marched back into the house. There the papers were unfolded, and on one of them appeared—to the astonishment of all—a message. It enjoined them to increase the membership to eleven and to deposit with the spirit the sum of £12 in silver or gold. This paper was preserved by one of the dupes as proof of the miracle for exhibition purposes in attracting converts.

Of cupidity Rogers was admittedly culpable, but of sloth he was as guiltless as an angel. He resorted to dangerous measures in galvanizing the faith of lagging members of the cult if the in-

credible stories bruited about the community in his time had any truth. Among these stories, one was accorded widespeard belief. One night a figure, draped in white raiment, was seen to take off from the roof of the Court House, which then stood in the northwest corner of the Green, and glide through the air to a tavern on the opposite side. In its miraculous progress through the air, it warned those who saw it to flee from the wrath to come. Some people explained the phenomenon as the performance of a tightrope walker. If Rogers did perform this feat, he was an acrobat of no mean ability, with a mastery of walking on stilts a mere elementary skill in his repertoire. In all probability, however, this phenomenon was a story, without any basis in fact, concocted for use in rural districts to attract members who lived too far away to verify its reality.

A more credible story involved the experience of a young girl in the employ of a farmer near Morristown. The milkmaid was milking cows after dark on a cold, frosty evening. Ice covered the landscape, the house, and the barn. A noise suddenly attracted her attention. Glancing up from her work, she saw, poised on the treacherous ridge of the barn, a sheeted ghost. She fled shrieking into the house. The next day, it was reported, Rogers was nursing a bruise acquired in descending too fast from his perch on the roof of the barn to the ground. According to one report, he broke his arm in the fall.

Recklessness, however, was not part of the true nature of Rogers, despite implications to the contrary in the foregoing anecdotes, culled from the body of tradition passed down about this hoaxer. His relations with an Irishman named Stevenson, who lived in the valley below the First Presbyterian Church, prove that Rogers exercised caution in his moves and discrimination in the persons selected for spiritual visitation. Stevenson was a particularly desirable candidate for the cult because he was the possessor of a considerable sum of available money. To appropriate it, Rogers first had to convert its owner to the faith. In his inordinate itch for the money, Rogers paid frequent calls upon the Irishman to win his confidence. The conversation during these visits often reverted to witches, ghosts, and apparitions. On this topic Rogers must have been positively garrulous, with a plethora

of anecdotes for which he searched no further in his resourceful mind than the fund of his own experiences. The state of popular opinion in the region and the vague rumors of witchcraft abroad would, the narrator hoped, lend validity to his stories. Stevenson, however, remained stubbornly incredulous, and Rogers' attempts at indoctrination were meeting with poor success. One evening, after a long talk about invisible beings, Rogers decided to sound Stevenson out on his reaction to the sight of a spirit. The wary pedagogue probably entertained some thought of purging the Irishman's mind of his obstinate skepticism by giving him a demonstration lesson.

"Suppose, Mr. Stevenson," asked Rogers with more purpose than speculation, "you should see some night a white figure gliding along above the ground, as if it did not touch the ground or walk, but moving along like a mist or ghost, what would you do?"

"Be jabbers," ejaculated Stevenson with grim emphasis, "I would use my shillelagh on him."

The threat served as an effectual warning for any visitation Rogers may have planned. Needless to say, Stevenson was never accorded the distinction of seeing a ghost.

The meetings of the elect went on, and subsequent meetings were held in places other than at L——'s house in "Solitude." "The principal locality for the seances," according to H. B. Hoffman, "was on top of Schooley's Mountain, but occasionally there was one on the outskirts of Morristown."[14] At one meeting in "Reeves's Swamp," each member deposited his acknowledgment near a stump designated by one of the demons. As one of the fully paid members, who had just tendered his acknowledgment, was leaving the scene of the meeting, he missed his footing in the dark and plunged into mud. Angered by the accident, he resentfully picked himself up and resolved to return to the stump to retrieve his money. The money, however was gone; the ghost had been too quick for him.

Another meeting, according to one Isaac Whitehead, of Jersey, Ohio, was held in the tanyard of Colonel Benoni Hathaway, who

[14]H. B. Hoffman, "Historical Sketches," Morristown *Banner*, March 26, 1936.
[15]Tuttle, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

was a tanner and currier. A new member had, after much persuasion, been finally seduced into joining the circle of elect. He observed scrupulously all the established forms of ritual to the extent of depositing his acknowledgment in the designated place and then kneeling in prayer. Every one was customarily adjured to keep his eyes closed until Rogers pronounced the word "Amen." This interval of time gave the ghost an opportunity to glide in from the surrounding darkness and to whisk away with the money. The new member, vacillating between belief and incredulity and burning with curiosity to see a "live ghost," did not close his eyes. Instead, he guardedly followed the movements of the spectral visitant through the fingers of the hand with which he pretended to shut from view the incongruous sight of the magnetism of money for one who has "shuffled off this mortal coil." The ghost perceived that it was being watched and was piqued. As slow as fate the shrouded figure glided menacingly toward the disobedient novitiate. Too paralyzed with superstitious dread to think of bringing his shillelagh into action, the curious member rose from his knees and gave way before the advancing spirit. Inadvertently he backed up towards a large vat of bark liquor, into which he fell head over heels. He was in a woeful plight when the other members of the cult rescued him. During the disturbance in the rites, the ghost vanished—with the money.

Delinquency on the part of members was not always so fortuitously punished, and on one recorded occasion, it paid off. The contumacious member was Squire B—— L——, who lived near Dover and who had entered the project reluctantly, quite wanting in zeal and even in conviction. The acknowledgments had been duly deposited at the designated place, but the ghost was dilatory in making its collection. During the rites the backslider did more observing than praying. When an opportunity presented itself, he surreptitiously purloined the money deposited at the foot of a tree before the ghost had entered the charmed ring. It was a chagrined ghost that slunk back into the shadows after a futile quest, the price of its tardiness being the cost of the night's collection. Squire B—— L—— won renown in the traditions of the Morristown hoax as the only one who "had shrewdness

enough to come out of it richer than he went in."[16] It may have been this annoying lesson in human frailty and distorted avarice that prompted Rogers in June of 1789 to cull new members exclusively from among upstanding church-goers.

For the work of proselyting in this new field, Rogers needed an apostle. Selecting a dark night, Rogers sallied forth to pay a visit in his inimitable fashion on the most promising devotee in the cult for this trusted post. Raps on the door and on the windows of his house roused the sleeping disciple. The sight of the figure, shrouded in a white sheet, and the sepulchral tones in which the high priest couched his words convinced the dupe immediately that he was holding parley with a ghost. The vast treasures secreted in Schooley's Mountain would not be relinquished, he was told, unless members of the church joined the group. Indiscriminate marshaling of new members, he was warned, would not do; only particular ones, designated by name, were to be approached for conversion. The dupe was given ample reassurance in the mission for which he was delegated:

> I am the spirit of a just man, and am sent to give you information how to proceed, and put the conducting of it into your hands; and I will ever be with you and give you directions when you go amiss; therefore, fear not, but go to Rogers and inform him of your interview with me. — Fear not, I am ever with you![17]

Early the next morning the ingenuous dupe went to see Rogers, who promptly confirmed, of course, the truth of the assignment. The dupe was thereupon convinced that he had been deputed by a supernatural agent and would work under supernatural aegis.

With a membership goal of thirty-seven, the proselyting among the highly selective church class went forward in June without difficulty. Those approached were found to be "very flexible."[18] In motivating new members to join the venture, curiosity may have been as strong an incentive as cupidity, for "many of the people in that county [Morris] are much attached to machinations and will spend much time in investigating curiosities."[19] Those who were first impelled by curiosity and had satisfied it gave Rogers and his confreres plenty of trouble. The new recruits

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[17] "Philanthropist," *op. cit.*, p. 30.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 31.
[19] Tuttle, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

were drawn largely from the "aged, abstemious, honest, judicious, simple" church members and they were possessed of "a truly moral character, either belonging to the church or abstaining from profane company, or walking circumspectly."[20] For all their integrity, Rogers found them exasperatingly obdurate in wholeheartedly accepting his pretensions and, what was of paramount importance, in surrendering £12. If he had anticipated easy conquests, he was disappointed. Even before the drive for thirty-seven members had reached its goal, the twenty or thereabouts embraced skeptics and delinquents. The hoaxers were active every night, making appearances as sheet-enshrouded ghosts, proclaiming themselves to be the spirits of just men, enticing members with promises of rich rewards to keep faith, and enjoining them to "pray without ceasing."[21] To confirm them in the faith, Rogers called a meeting at which he promised them some sign to emanate unequivocally from a spiritual source.

Liberal potions of spirituous liquor on spiritual decree found their way down the throats of normally abstemious men on the night of the meeting. The applejack lent terrifying suggestion to the thumps on the door, the roof, and the windows, and to the groans and the jingling of money without, accompanied by the ominous abjuration to "Look to God!" Rogers shrewdly feigned wonder as the members stood genuinely terrified, trembling to the roots of their graying hair with apprehension and dread. They fell upon their knees in prayer. The religious invocations done, they rose and walked five times around a table in the room. From a quire on the table, each drew a blank sheet of paper, which he folded. They were then marched with becoming decorum out of the room with white handkerchiefs tied around their heads and loins into a meadow about one hundred yards distant from the house. On the way Rogers pocketed his blank sheet of paper and withdrew one that he had prepared for the occasion.

In the meadow the dupes gravitated about five times around a circle about thirty feet in diameter with folded sheets of paper in their hands. When the procession halted, they unfolded the sheets of paper and fell prone upon the ground, their faces buried in the

[20] "Philanthropist," *op. cit.*, p. 31.
[21] *Ibid.*

earth and the papers extended in one hand. They were cautioned upon their peril not to raise their heads while the spirit entered the circle to write upon one of the papers. After about ten minutes of prayer, Rogers ejaculated "Amen!"

In the collection and redistribution of papers that subsequently took place, Rogers succeeded in substituting the prepared paper for one of the blank originals. Performed in the darkness of the night, his action required little dexterity, and any imputation that he possessed a magician's skill along with his other talents would be a rather extravagant claim.

The dupes rose from their knees and marched back into the house, one of them unwittingly carrying in his hand directions for procedures in recovering the coveted treasures. When they examined the pieces of paper, lo! One of them bore writing in the bold hand of a demon from Schooley's Mountain, whose orthography was as impeccable as the Spencerian penmanship of a pedagogue. The opening words of the miraculous message emphasized the need for a deeper faith:

O Faithless man! What more need I exhibit unto you! I am the spirit of a just man sent from Heaven to declare these things unto you; and I can have no rest until I have delivered great possessions into your hands; but look to God, there is greater treasure in Heaven for you! O faithless men! Press forward in faith and the prize is yours![22]

The inscription also cited various chapters of the Bible that the members were assigned to read and particular psalms for them to sing. It prescribed a compulsory enrollment of thirty-seven members, each of whom must deliver to the spirit a sum according to his circumstances, not exceeding £12 or less than £6. The appeal for promptness in delivering the money was explained on the plausible grounds that the ghost would, upon the discharge of its mission, be accorded eternal peace of mind.

The dupes forthwith agreed to surrender the money as soon as they could raise it, but they insisted upon befitting decorum in the ceremonies of the delivery. No ghost had made an appearance during these particular rites. Collection of acknowledgments was not scheduled on the program, and Rogers' two abettors had, unsuspected, mingled with the members to give their chief what assistance was necessary. For the next meeting a few days after-

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

ward, Rogers planned (with a vengeance) to give these sticklers for form what they wanted. From his fecund ingenuity he evolved two more promising innovations in the established rites.

These comprised pills, which were to be taken internally at the meetings, and packets of pulverized bones, which were to be consigned to secret places in the members' homes. The pills, Rogers alleged, were converted from a compound mass left with him by the spirits. Unless the pills were followed by liberal quantities of applejack as an antidote, they would produce swelling of the mouth and lips. The powder in the sealed papers was allegedly the dust of the corporeal remains of spirits, and its possession was a token of psychical approbation.

After all this preparation, Rogers must have been keenly disappointed when only seven of the twelve members who attended the meeting were prepared to deliver their acknowledgments. With pills, potions, prayers, and parading, the meeting got under way. Retiring finally to a meadow about one hundred yards from the house, the members formed themselves within a circle about twenty feet in diameter and awaited the appearance of a spirit.

It was not a decorous but an aberrant ghost that emerged from the darkness that night. When it approached within sixty yards of the circle, it indicated a desire to speak to Rogers by whistling. Rogers returned to the circle with orders from the spirit that all who had brought their acknowledgments should follow him to a designated tree about forty yards from the circle. When the demon took a position about twenty yards from the tree, it gave other proof of unorthodox conduct. It jumped and stamped as it reiterated incongruously the admonition to "Look to God!" Its performance was impressive, despite its nonconformity to accepted spiritual patterns. The dupes returned to the house completely cowed, trembling at every noise and glancing fearfully in every direction, convinced that they were surrounded by hobgoblins, apparitions, witches, and the Devil. The proceeds of this evening's work were about £40.

The goal of thirty-seven was finally attained, and the membership was nearly fully paid. Rogers appeared to be the favored son of Fortune, and but for woman's curiosity, he would have continued to bathe in her smiles until the last pound had been col-

lected and the final packet of burned bones had been distributed. Rogers had attempted to preclude every eventuality that some daughter of Eve might touch off the fuse that would blow up the hoax. He had bound the members to strict secrecy and had cautioned them to guard carefully the parcels of powdered bones.

The untoward occurrence that provoked vexation among the leading lights of the religion of shadows happened in the house of D—— C——. This member, who operated a grist mill near his home half-way between Morristown and Speedwell, was prominent, highly-respected, and fully paid. His enigmatical, nocturnal excursions were, doubtless, the source of uneasy concern to his wife. After she compared notes with neighbors, she learned that other respectable husbands attended mysterious meetings and found difficulty in orientating themselves towards their homes during early hours in the morning. She determined to probe the mystery to its source and started by examining the contents of her husband's pockets. Whether the husband was away from home at the time or recumbent in sleep made deeper by large drams of liquor quaffed on the preceding night is an inconsequential matter of dispute.[23] When she found the packet containing the pulverized bone, she broke the seal, opened the paper, and scrutinized the suspicious-looking contents. The good woman shared with her husband the superstition that impelled him to give his money and influence to forward a scheme in which he had full confidence. She feared that the blackened pieces of charcoal in the packet were, in some way, connected with witchcraft. She therefore hastened to the rectory to show them to the Reverend Doctor Timothy Johnes, the minister of the First Presbyterian Church. He could offer her no advice, and he even refused to touch the questionable substance. Her husband was greatly perturbed when he learned that she had violated his pledge to Rogers and the spirits. In his desperation he wailed that she had ruined him forever. After binding her to secrecy, he revealed to her the organization and purpose of the cult to satisfy her insatiable curiosity. As soon as she had heard the account, she averred that they were serving the Devil and, notwithstanding her promise, she threatened as her sacred mission to put an end to such proceedings.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 38; Tuttle, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70; Sherman, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

The fact that one of the members of the elect had betrayed the secrets of the organization to his wife soon became known to Rogers and his accomplices. The imposters realized that they were now treading on thin ice. Visions of being lynched by the ones whom they had gulled or standing trial for fraud before a rigorous law-enforcing body must have given the pedagogues queasy moments. The prospect of more money in the offing, however, drove them boldly on in the imperiled venture. Rogers and his assistants gave performances as spirits every night to restore the faith that the impact of this disclosure had weakened. According to tradition, these nocturnal exhibitions were very successful.

How much longer Rogers could have sustained this superstructure of delusion, built upon faith in him and his extravagant allegations, is an interesting question. To say that he was devilishly shrewd and undeniably convincing after presenting all this testimony is to be platitudinous. He had successfully duped some four score or more middle-aged and respectable men, including a brave Revolutionary officer, an esteemed jurist, two justices of the peace, two local physicians, a local miller, and a Whippanong resident of substance. The money amassed by him and his assistants has been estimated variously at thirteen and fifteen hundred dollars. The weight of evidence, however, must rest on the figure of £500[24] (about $1,250), despite the traditional boast that Rogers is supposed to have made that he garnered the staggering sum of ten thousand dollars in the enterprise. Unfortunately for him, he had engineered himself into a delicately tenuous position. A single mistake could be fatal. One performance that was not quite convincing would undermine the faith and dispel the delusion. He, whom the public imagination had exalted above the plane of common mortality, would plunge, like Lucifer from Heaven, to degraded depths of common contempt. On one particular evening, before riding to the home of a member to give a performance as a sheet- enshrouded ghost, Rogers committed the one disastrous error. He indiscreetly drank too much.

It is ironical that applejack, which had proved so helpful in

[24]"Philanthropist," *op. cit.*, p. 41; cf. Tuttle, *op. cit.*, p. 71; Munsell, *op. cit.*, p. 130; Sherman, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

forwarding his designs, was the very means by which Rogers fell from eminence. One enemy, however, was not enough to ensnare this *rara avis*. He had another on this fatal evening; it was the perspicacity of a medling woman. Alcohol and woman!—springes to catch woodcocks, but they served for Rogers. During his performance as a ghost, he made several blunders that did not escape the wily discernment of the dupe's wife. The precise nature of these mistakes has not been transcribed for posterity. They were serious enough to plant seeds of suspicion in the female mind. When the parley closed, the ghost drifted away, the dupe retired to prayer, but the woman excogitated. Her conclusions about the singular conduct of "the spirit of a just man" had a provocative effect upon her intellectually myopic husband.

A heavy dew had fallen that night. In the morning the husband made some observations in the soft terrain. They confirmed the suspicions that he and his wife now shared together. There in the muddy ground were the imprints of shoes. The footprints led to hoofprints near a fence, to which a horse had been tethered the previous evening. A ghost that wore shoes and was furnished with a horse was an anomaly in the accepted traditions of demonology. The dupe followed the horse's hoofprints to Rogers' house, which he found empty of its occupant. They eventually led him to the house of the horse's owner, about one-half mile distant, where the detective found Rogers himself. It was discovered that the tenant of the house had lent Rogers a horse on the preceding evening. Other circumstances were revealed, for which Rogers found it embarrassing to give plausible explanations.

The man's eyes were now wide open, and so were those of others. The spell was broken, and the hoax exploded. The "Morristown Ghost" had given his final performance and was lodged in jail. Many found it difficult at first to believe Rogers' duplicity, and they found it more difficult to relinquish their hope of recovering the chimerical treasure hoards in Schooley's Mountain. With consummate boldness Rogers denied that he was guilty of fraud. In a few days one of his friends bailed him out of prison.

When Rogers was clear of prison, he learned with dismay that he had many enemies. Bereft of the reverential awe that he once

commanded, he became the target of "many threatenings and horrid imprecations."[25] He prudently decided to make a clandestine departure from New Jersey. He was pursued, apprehended, and placed under arrest a second time. Once again in jail, he acknowledged his crime and admitted that he deserved punishment. How "fortune favored him"[26] and he again eluded "the malice of a host" are not known. Our guess is that he was released on easy bail through deference to the feelings of his victims who, squirming with chagrin and shame, were anxious to see the last of him. His mere presence, even in jail, stultified those he had gulled in a region that was convulsed with merriment when the dark rites were brought to light.

This delusion furnished material for an amusing comedy, enacted at Elizabeth (or Newark[28]) in October of 1791, under the title *The Morristown Ghost, or the Force of Credulity*. Unfortunately, there is no trace of the printing of this play, allegedly written by the son of James Richards, D. D., a former pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Morristown. The suspicion that Rogers himself was the author of an anonymous treatise entitled *The Morristown Ghost,* that appeared in 1792,[29] is well founded. In it the author, who signs himself "Philanthropist," claims a place of honor in the annals of Morris County as a public benefactor for his work in dispelling superstition and ignorance.[30] Who else would make a bid for such a lofty claim as immortality through such a reprehensible channel as fraud?

[25]"Philanthropist," *op. cit.,* p. 40.

[26]*Ibid.*

[27]Tuttle, *op. cit.,* p. 71.

[28]Cf. Munsell, *op. cit.,* p. 128; Sherman, *op. cit.,* p. 411.

[29]No copy of this *introuvable* pamphlet seems to exist (see *Morristown Daily Record,* July 23, 1949). Because it contained the names of many of the prominent people in Morristown and its vicinity who served as Rogers' dupes, the whole edition allegedly was bought up and destroyed. Your authors were constrained to use a reprint of the 1814 edition, which was published in 1896.

[30]Rogers' claim has not been ignored by posterity. "In summing up this strange story," maintained the Morristown *Jerseyman* for October 4, 1926, "it might be said that one good thing that Rogers did for Morristown was that he did away with much of the ignorance of the people, causing the light of reason to illumine the minds of many, where obscurity had reigned supreme for many years."

Rembrandt Lockwood, an Artist of Newark

WILLIAM H. GERDTS, JR.

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THE history of American art abounds with figures named after illustrious men of the past such as De Witt Clinton Boutelle, George Washington Marcks, and T. Jefferson Wright. Some too have been named after earlier artists. The most famous in this category, of course, are the various painters of the Peale family, children of Charles Willson Peale: Rembrandt, Raphaelle, Rubens, and Titian Peale.

There were others whose parents seem to have been forewarned of the fate of their offspring. Among these, one of the most interesting is the very little known painter, Rembrandt Lockwood. For many years, Lockwood has been little more than a name listed in the exhibition annals of the various nineteenth century academies in New York and Philadelphia. Recently, however, additional information and several original works by Lockwood have appeared and he emerges as an artist of importance, both for his own period and for our understanding of that period.

Rembrandt Lockwood was born in 1815, the son of Millington and Jane A. (Cuisac) Lockwood.[1] Nothing is as yet known of his early life or education, although his name suggests that his parents must have been sympathetic and even encouraging to the path which he pursued. In any case, he is mentioned in the Richmond (Virginia) *Compiler* on January 1, 1841. The notice reads as follows:

MINIATURE PAINTING. We have seen two or three well executed miniature likenesses by Mr. Rembrandt Lockwood of our city. He has taken a

[1] *The Genealogy of the Lockwood Family, 1630-1888* (copy in the State Library, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania).

room opposite the Virginia Bank and offers to paint this description of portraits—a very difficult and delicate branch of art. Mr. L. is known to the citizens for his fondness and devotion to the fine arts. For a long time he struggled to keep up the Museum and great were the sacrifices he made in that struggle. For auld lang syne, for the private worth of the man, and for his skill as an artist he deserves the patronage of the public.[2]

Lockwood was then twenty-five years of age. The notice indicates that he had been active in Richmond art life for a number of years so it may be assumed that he began his art career there; he may even have grown up in that city. Lockwood was an artist of amazing versatility and miniature painting was only one of the many facets of his ability. Indeed, all further notices of his painting are concerned with works in large, possibly because miniature painting was in decline at this period, due in large part to the popularity of photography.

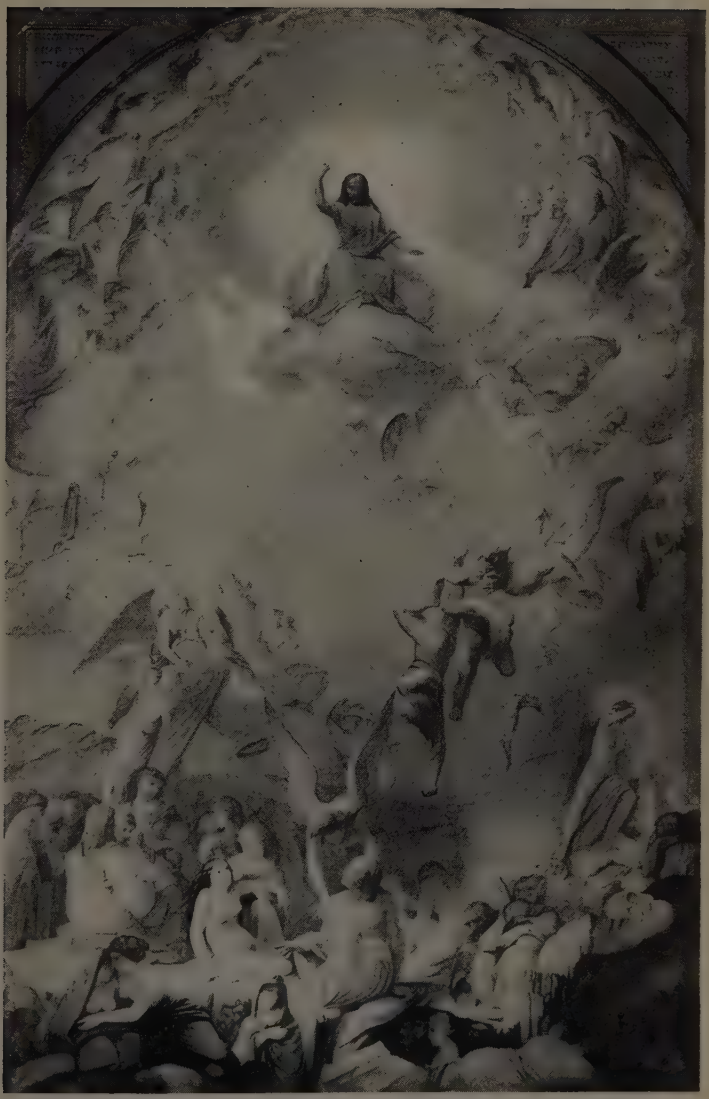
Whether or not Lockwood stayed in Richmond is not known; in any case, he was mentioned by the *Compiler* on September 21, 1843, as a portrait painter. The Richmond *Whig,* on October 17 of that year has this to say of him:

Mr. Lockwood, a young American Artist, of great modesty, and we think undoubted merit as a portrait painter, has rooms on Main Street, a few doors below Mr. Mitchell's watch store. We visited his rooms Saturday, along with our brother of the Compiler. His portraits are not numerous, but from the specimens we saw, we are disposed to rate his powers very highly. The likeness of Dr. Channing, is a very fine painting, and we are told, is very exact. There is among the selection, the picture from life, of a lady, so very pretty, that she would excite the envy of the most beautiful of our belles. This we have mentioned for the benefit of the ladies. who must now turn out, to see if this stranger is as pretty as they are.

It is not known if the paucity of works in Lockwood's studio, noted by the *Whig* critic, is due to the artist's recent arrival in Richmond or to a lack of popularity among Richmond art patrons. The only works by Lockwood known from this period are portraits of Jacob Van Meter (1788-1874) and his wife, Martha Van Meter (1792-1874) owned by Mrs. W. J. Henry of Seattle.[3] They were early settlers of Bowling Green, Kentucky,

[2]This and following quotations from Richmond newspapers were generously supplied by the library of the Valentine Museum, Richmond.

[3]Edna Talbot Whitley, *Kentucky Ante-Bellum Portraiture* (1956), p. 715.



REMBRANDT LOCKWOOD'S *Last Judgment*. Shown here is a finished preliminary drawing in pencil, owned by the Vose Galleries, Boston. The completed painting of the *Last Judgment*, a huge canvas measuring twenty-seven by seventeen feet, is not known to have survived.

and if the portraits were painted there, it would indicate either that Lockwood was active in that state previous to working in Richmond or that he travelled there during his Virginia residence. It is known that he painted many altar-pieces for churches in Richmond but these were probably done at a later period.

By the end of the year 1845 Lockwood was in Munich, studying, a period which was to have a decisive influence upon his later career.[4] Like many portraitists in generations before him, American artists such as Copley, Trumbull, and Morse, after exposure to European art and its traditions, Lockwood began to hanker after "greater things." Although he continued portraiture, his vision expanded and he undertook subjects in varying fields, but in particular, religious art. It was during his Munich years that he conceived the idea of painting a great *Last Judgement,* which was to be the outstanding work of his career.

That an American artist of this time would undertake such a project was amazing, in view of the almost total lack of tradition of religious painting in America. Lockwood conceived this work on a scale to rival such famous "pre-panorama spectaculars" as West's *Christ Rejected* and *Death on a Pale Horse,* Dunlap's *Death on a Pale Horse,* Morse's *House of Representatives* and Rembrandt Peale's *Court of Death.* In the years before he went to Munich, Lockwood must have seen something of the public acclamation of the large historic panels painted for the Rotunda of the Capitol, and this precedence may have encouraged him in his venture to paint a large work which might be exhibited publicly in various cities. The real impetus, however, for his picture and for his choice of subject, were the representations of the *Last Judgement* which he saw abroad, particularly those by Michaelangelo in Rome and Peter von Cornelius in Munich itself.

It is not known how long Lockwood stayed in Germany. He had finished four small cartoons for the project and begun a fifth when he left Munich.[5] He went first to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where he finished the fifth cartoon but he could not have been there long for by 1847 he was in Newark, New Jersey.

[4] *Richmond Compiler,* December 29, 1845.

[5] *Key to and a Description of (in English, German, French and Spanish) "The Last Judgement;" a Scriptural Painting, by Rembrandt Lockwood, with Notices from the Press* (Newark, 1854), gives a complete account of the history of the work.

Also, during his stay at Harrisburg he may have visited Cincinnati, for in 1847 the gallery of the Western Art-Union in that city distributed two works by him to residents: an *Interior with Sheep* to Allison Owen and a *Scene from Shakespeare—Falstaff,* to Mrs. Caroline Wilson. In 1849 the Western Art-Union awarded Lockwood's *Life in a Monastery* to John W. Herron of Cincinnati. In the latter year, the Gallery also exhibited Lockwood's *Interior with Sheep,* now owned by Charles Stetson, and in addition, *The Imprisonment of Ugolino,* owned by R. W. Lee. In 1850, that organization awarded Lockwood's, *The Rose Bud* to L. Bradley of Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio.[6]

Newark was to remain his residence for eleven years, years which were very fruitful in his career. From 1848 until his departure from the city he lived at 461 High Street, a street which was the residence of other artists of Newark.[7] In the *Newark Daily Advertiser* of November 25, 1848, is a note telling of Lockwood's plaster model of *Coleridge's Genevieve* which was to be seen at Old's book store. This is the only suggestion known that Lockwood had sculptural as well as painterly interests and confirms his growing preoccupation with literary subject matter during these years.

In 1848, giving his residence as Newark, Lockwood exhibited two paintings at New York's American Art-Union, an *Interior* and a *Sheepfold.*[8] In 1849 he showed a figure study entitled *Lilly of the Valley.* That he continued to practice portraiture is proved by his showing a male portrait at the National Academy of Design in that year, along with *A View on the Passaic River,* both owned by Marcus L. Ward.[9] These were the only works to be shown at the National Academy. That Ward owned these works is proof that Lockwood was enjoying at least a moderate patronage in his home city, for Ward was New Jersey's outstanding art patron, a tradition which Ward may have inherited through his wife's uncle, Nicholas Longworth of Cincinnati, who sent Ward

[6]Cincinnati, Western Art-Union, Transactions, 1847, pp. 29-30; 1849, p. 20; 1850, p. 18. Also, *Catalogue of Works of Art Now on Exhibition in the Gallery of the Western Art-Union* (Cincinnati, 1849).

[7]Fridolin Schlegel, for instance, also lived on High Street at this time.

[8]Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art Union Exhibition Record, 1816-1852* (New York, 1953), p. 235.

[9]Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1826-1860* (New York, 1943), II, 298.

a number of the artists whom he patronized. Considering that Lockwood may have been in Cincinnati just prior to going to Newark, it may well be that Longworth encouraged Ward to patronize Lockwood and may have even been partly responsible for the painter's choice of residence. The Lockwood portrait may well have been of Governor Ward himself, and if so, may possibly be identified with a picture in the collection of the Newark Museum.[10]

Although Lockwood continued work on his *Last Judgement* in Newark, he found time to paint many other religious works. By February, 1849, he was back in Richmond, where the *Compiler* noted that:

> Another artist whose fame is rapidly spreading, is Rembrandt Lockwood whose studio and exhibition rooms will soon be open nearly over Alexander Duval's druggist establishment. This artist has already executed many excellent portraits here, and both here and elsewhere has also distinguished himself in historical paintings. There is now in his rooms a large and admirable altar-piece, painted to order, and worthy of universal admiration. Mr. L. expects soon to proceed to Rome to execute several very important orders now in his possession. In the mean time he is exemplifying a great versatility of talent among us, and is now finishing a unique and extra-ordinary picture. In the center of his composition, and standing on rich velvet is a globular vase of fountain water and golden fishes. The naturalness of "the mute beauties," the element in which they sport, and their transparent prison, is wonderful. The reflection of the light, with the shadow of the artist's hat on the upper side, is indicative of his true eye and skill. Other pictured things cluster around in great variety. Purple grapes and white, with leaves all fresh with dew; oranges, lemons, and other fruit, great and dry, tempt you to "touch" what you cannot "taste." One withered grape has rolled off from the rest, and an insect has pounced upon it with busy bill. A splendid plant rejoices on the opposite side, while beneath its expanding verdure is a magnificent silver vase, as accurately copied as it is gorgeously embossed.
>
> The public will have an opportunity of seeing these and other beautiful creations of art at the Fair, to be held next week, for which, we understand, they were expressly produced.

The altar in his studio must have been the one painted for the Catholic Church, undoubtedly St. Peter's in Richmond,[11] which was opened in 1835. He also painted altar-pieces in other

[10]The Newark Museum has in its collection several unsigned and unattributed portraits of Marcus L. Ward. Although one of them might be by Lockwood, there is no comparative material available upon which a decision could be made.

[11]*Key to and a Description of . . . "The Last Judgement,"* p. 11.

cities, particularly in Baltimore, where he is recorded to have painted one work each for St. Vincent's, St. Joseph's, Carroll's Chapel, and the Sisters of Charity, and three each for St. Peter's and St. Patrick's. Although some of these altars in Baltimore and Richmond may have been created before he went to Munich, there is no indication that he practiced any art but portraiture in those early years. Unfortunately, attempts to locate any of his altar-pieces have been unsuccessful.

It is not known that Lockwood did go to Rome in 1849 and other indications show that he was active in Newark where he continued to maintain his residence. In 1850 he exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts for the first and only time. The painting exhibited was a *Romeo and Juliet,* which was for sale.[12] In the sale following the demise of the American Art-Union, Lockwood was represented by a work which must have been one of his most important, entitled *Fulton and Chancellor Livingston,* a painting 36 x 29 inches, which was sold for the relatively modest sum of $135.[13]

Lockwood not only exhibited in New York and Philadelphia but was able to find exhibition room and patronage in his own city. That Newark was aware of him is proved by an article in the *Newark Daily Advertiser* for January 6, 1850, calling for the formation of a Newark Art Union. The writer, who signed himself "Clifford," pointed out that 400 Newarkers had subscribed to the American Art-Union and that there were good prospects for the formation of a similar organization in Newark, one which could distribute a greater proportion of works to its membership than did the New York organization, and one which would give preference to the work of local artists. Among those named were Johannes Oertel, Fridolin Schlegel, George Ross, John A. McDougall, Pine (either James or Theodore) and Rembrandt Lockwood. The author called for the art union in order that these artists " . . . paint for their neighbors, as for other admirers . . . "

It is interesting that none of the above named artists is well-known today. They represented, however, the best of Newark painters and despite their present obscurity they were, for the

[12]Anna Wells Rutledge, *Cumulative Record of Exhibition Catalogues, The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1807-1870* (Philadelphia, 1955), p. 131.

[13]Cowdrey, *American Academy,* p. 235.

most part, excellent artists. James and Theodore Pine, father and son, and George Ross, were fine portraitists, equal at their best to most of the portrait-painters of the period. McDougall was a fine miniaturist and a less capable landscape painter, and Oertel was a painter of pompous but sincere religious works.[14] Even Schlegel, a rather mediocre portraitist, had a sound technique to his credit.

The local art union, named the New Jersey Art Union, did, indeed, get underway. It opened an exhibition in the Library Room in Newark which continued through the summer. A permanent gallery was constructed in Library Hall in the fall and a lottery drawing was made on the last day of the year. That the Art Union began auspiciously is confirmed by the fact that there were 471 subscribers and that forty works were distributed. Among the artists whose works were chosen for distribution were the nationally famous Henry Peter Gray, Jasper Cropsey, and Regis Gignoux, the sculptor, Thomas Dow Jones, and such local figures as Thomas Whitley of Hoboken, and Oertel, Schlegel and Lockwood. The latter had four works in the distribution, a larger number than any other painter. They were entitled *Interior with Cattle, Landscape, Sappho* and *Girl with Fruit.*[15]

In 1851 the New Jersey Art Union did not meet with the success of the previous year. Yet, the *Newark Daily Advertiser* of November 13 reports that the committee expected to purchase works by Durand, Cole and Gignoux and again the local painters Schlegel, Oertel and Lockwood. When the drawing took place on December 30, the President could report only 261 subscribers. Nevertheless, the Art Union was able to distribute thirty works including pictures by Alonzo Chappel, Durand, Cropsey, Johann Culverhouse and by Arthur F. Tait, newly arrived in this country. The local painters represented were Lockwood, Schlegel, Whitley, Oertel and the landscapist Charles L. Heyde, S. Woodruff, Jacob C. Ward, as well as the very able landscape and still-life painter, William Mason Brown.[16] Lockwood, this time,

[14]One of Oertel's finest works, however, is a genre painting entitled "The Shed—Woodruff Stables—Jerome Avenue, the Bronx," owned by the Museum of the City of New York. For Newark artists in general, see the Newark Museum, *Early New Jersey Artists* (Newark, 1957).

[15]*Newark Daily Advertiser,* January 2, 1951.

[16]*Ibid.,* December 31, 1851.

showed only two works, while Oertel exhibited three, Heyde four and Brown five. Lockwood's pictures were entitled *Sunset* and *Interior.*

Unfortunately, this was the last drawing of the New Jersey Art Union. In 1852, plans for further activities were set back by the anti-lottery decision which brought an end to the American Art-Union in New York, and in 1853 the Newark organization decided to dissolve itself rather than face similar action.[17] Although proposals were made at this time that the Art Union quarters be made into the home of a local museum, they were eventually taken over by the Young Men's Christian Association.

When one considers the various works which Lockwood exhibited over the period 1840 to 1852, the list is startling in its variety and sustains the judgement of versatility made by the Richmond *Compiler.* He was both a portraitist and a miniaturist, a painter of figure, still-life, literary, historical, landscape, animal and genre subjects. He was also a sculptor. Yet, his main occupation was with religious paintings and he was soon to finish and exhibit the work which was briefly to win him great acclaim.

On July 11, 1854, the *Newark Daily Advertiser* announced the opening that week of the exhibition of Lockwood's *Last Judgement* in Concert Hall, a room chosen because no other in the city could accomodate the painting. This work, begun in Munich and continued in Harrisburg, was finished in Newark, where Lockwood painted a sixth cartoon, a colored sketch and finally the great work itself. The cartoons and sketch took Lockwood seven years and nine months to produce; the finished work itself took a year and three months, and was twenty-seven feet by seventeen feet in size.

During the creation of the work other artists saw it and gave testimonials as to its merits. By 1852 the preliminary work had been sufficiently advanced for Asher B. Durand and Daniel Huntington to offer words of praise, and the Reverend Dr. Huntington, brother of the last-named artist, echoed this approval.[18] A more important accolade, however, was that made on the 8th of July, 1854, just before the exhibition of the work, when the following testimonial from the Common Council of the city of Newark was issued:

[17] *Ibid.,* October 27, 28 and November 28, 1853.
[18] *Key to and a Description of . . .* "The Last Judgement," p. 11.

REMBRANDT LOCKWOOD, ESQ.

Dear Sir: — At a regular meeting of the Common Council of the City of Newark, held at this chamber on the 7th inst., the following Preamble and Resolution were adopted unanimously. —

"Whereas, Rembrandt Lockwood, Esq., a citizen of Newark, N.J., after toiling during nine years and the greatest discouragement, has at length produced a painting which, for the grandeur of its design, the difficulty of its subject and the felicity of its execution, in the opinion of men competent to judge in such matters, has never been equalled in this country; and Whereas, the said Rembrandt Lockwood thereby has forever connected with his memory the name of our said city of Newark, therefore be it

"Resolved, 1. That the congratulations of the Mayor and the Common Council of the City of Newark, be tendered to the said Rembrandt Lockwood, on the recent completion of his great painting, entitled "The Last Judgement;" and that previous to removing it, as he contemplates, to the City of New York, he be requested to give our citizens an opportunity to see it, in this, its native place.

"Resolved, Furthermore, that a copy of this Preamble, with the Resolutions, properly attested, be presented without delay to the said Rembrandt Lockwood."

In accordance with the terms of the last Resolution, I have the honor to present to you the action of the Common Council, in regard to this matter.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
ISAAC M. TUCKER
Clerk of the Common Council.[19]

Nor was this the only testimonial issued in Newark to Lockwood. On the day after the grand opening of the exhibition of the picture, on July 13, 1854, an opening to which the press and clergy were invited, the *Newark Daily Advertiser* reported a letter written by a writer who signed himself "H," suggesting that the city of Newark purchase the work so as to keep it in its place of origin; on July 27th appeared another certificate and testimonial, this time one of appreciation from the citizens of Newark for Lockwood's great contribution. One of the gentlemen signing this document was the portraitist, George Ross. The newspaper also contained Lockwood's reply of thanks written by Joseph C. Hornblower (possibly the "H" of the above-mentioned note) because of the illness of Lockwood himself. Indeed, the newspaper was constantly mentioning the great picture with lauda-

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

tory comments through the date of closing of the exhibition, August 19.

Although the painting itself has not, so far, been located, a finished drawing for it has recently appeared (PLATE I). This perfectly matches the line engraving of the painting which appeared as the frontispiece of the brochure published about the picture in 1854. It is undoubtedly a preliminary drawing by Lockwood himself. The drawing is full of excitement and movement, crowded with many figures. The great painting is known to have contained over 1500 figures. Those in the drawing are painted in the idealistic, bland interpretation of Raphael which characterized the German Nazarenes; the composition is more reminiscent of Michaelangelo.

Through the line engraving we can identify the various figures in the picture. God sits in judgement, of course, in the upper part of the picture. In the lower left are the races of man, the Caucasian comforting the Malayan, representing, respectively, the highest and lowest levels of civilization. The Angel of Death sits with face hidden, right of center. George Washington, in the lower center, is a symbol of Liberty, while Despotism lies at the bottom, vanquished. To Washington's left is the symbol of Slavery, a nude figure who has broken her bonds. Further left is the Holy Family. Above this group are the "Good Deeds," and above them, the Crowning of Saints and Martyrs. Surrounding the figure of God are Prophets at the left, and the Apostles at the right. The largest angels in this group are the Angel of Life at the right, that of Justice at the left. Below the figure of the Lord is St. Michael who drives forth the evil spirits — from top to bottom: Hypocrisy, Lost Virtue, Pride, Lust and Crime. Shielding his face from the light of God is Satan himself, and below him, Ambition, Despair, Drunkenness, Hate, Sloth, Procrastination, Envy and Covetousness, the latter represented as a miser. Finally, the figures behind Washington, Slavery and the Holy Family, represent the Sciences and the Arts: Galileo for Astronomy, Pascal for Mathematics, Erasmus for Belles Lettres, Plato for Philosophy, Dante for Poetry; the Fine Arts are represented by Michaelangelo, Raphael and Titian, representing respectively the Epic, the Dramatic and the Voluptuous, and at the far left are the Sacred Arts, in the figures of Fra Angelico, Fra Bartolomeo and Plantella Nelli.

The undertaking of the painting was naturally an immense task and it is no wonder that the work impresses one as more melodramtic than truly epic. Partly, of course, this can perhaps be attributed to the fact that the artist was only thirty years of age when he began it; partly it was the period, which favored allegorical symbolism found in other works of the time such as Huntington's famous *Mercy's Dream*. It was an age when religious painting was something apart from the main art traditions and could find roots only in an eclectic appeal to the past; this is the reason that even so fine a painting as John LaFarge's *Ascension* in the Church of the Ascension in New York is not a totally successful work.

Much of the laudatory criticism of the painting had to do not with its aesthetic qualities but with its moral significance. It was often compared with other representations of the scene — Orcagna's, to some extent, but mostly to Michaelangelo's work in the Sistine Chapel, Peter von Cornelius' painting in St. Ludwig's in Munich and the representation by John Martin. The general feeling was that these works were not successful because they constituted a partisan religious spirit—the Michaelangelo as a symbol of Catholicism, the Martin as a symbol of Protestantism. Michaelangelo's figure of God was criticized as being neither sacred nor merciful, and too full of the spirit of awfulness. Cornelius too was condemned for his Roman Catholic bias. Lockwood, on the other hand, " . . . swept away the rubbish of mythology, paganism and indecency, that defiles the conception of Michael Angelo, and the sectarianism that disquiets one on the canvas of Cornelius and Martin."[20]

The city of Newark failed to comply with the suggestion of purchasing the picture, but subscriptions of ten dollars were taken for an engraving of the painting, to measure one-twelfth of the original—27 inches by 17½ inches. This undertaking was made by John Encingmiller, another of the group of religious artists working in Newark at mid-century.[21] Meanwhile, Lock-

[20]*Ibid.*, pp. 11-18.

[21]Encingmiller was not only an engraver but also a painter of such religious subjects as the "Death of Abel" and "Christ in the Temple." He was probably J. M. Enzingmuller, the Nurenberg engraver who started the German religious painter, Johannes Oertel, on his career. Oertel later came to the United States and settled in Newark, perhaps on the suggestion of Enzingmuller. This leads to the interesting suggestion that Newark, at the mid-nineteenth century, was something of a center of religious art in America, being the residence of Lockwood, Oertel and Encingmiller, and perhaps others, who must have known each other and who had professional contacts.

wood made plans to take his picture to New York, although he continued to maintain his Newark residence. The exhibition of the work was begun in New York on September 11, 1854, in the Racket Court, and the opening ceremony included a eulogism by the Reverend Dr. Schroeder. On September 30, 1854, the *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer,* however, spoke at length of the defects of the picture—its aesthetic inadequacies, its confused symbolism and the borrowings from other artists. The article ends:

> In brief the 'Great Painting' is absurd and incongruous in conception, awkward in composition, puerile in sentiment, faulty in drawing, feeble in color, and indebted for its few merits to the memory rather than the imagination of its author.

Putnam's Magazine dealt no more kindly with the work, complaining that Lockwood had been overly ambitious in undertaking the picture. The periodical went on to praise the engraving, however, stating:

> It is being exquisitely engraved by Mr. Enzing Muller — who is correcting all its faults of drawing and also the blunders in anatomy. No true idea of the execution of the picture can ever be obtained from the engraving — and, indeed, it is not pleasant to think that so fine an engraver as Mr. Muller should be devoting his time to the perpetuating so poor a work. But we believe that the enterprise is a distinguished pecuniary success.[22]

Newark critics came to the rescue of their townsfellow and defended him against his adversaries, in the local newspaper. Such a defense, however, was not necessary, for in February and March, newspapers across the country announced the sale of the work to the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Philadelphia for the munificent sum of $12,000! The artist, in addition, reserved the engraving rights to the picture and 4000 individuals were said to have subscribed for an engraving at ten dollars each.[23]

Unfortunately, however, the Cathedral does not have the painting today and no information is available as to its possible whereabouts. In fact, in 1855 the Cathedral was undergoing construction and had difficulty enough in meeting costs, let alone finding $12,000 for a painting. Perhaps the work never was actually purchased. Another clue, but only a clue, to the fate of the picture is contained in an account of Lockwood which mentions that the

[22] *Putnam's Monthly,* V (1855), 223.

[23] *Chicago Daily Press,* March 1, 1855, and *Newark Daily Advertiser,* February 11, 1855.

painting was damaged by fire. It is not known whether this damage occurred in the Philadelphia Cathedral or elsewhere, nor when this fire occurred. Perhaps the damage was too extensive to be repaired and the picture was ultimately abandoned. This same account mentioned that the colored sketch of the work was in the possession of Courtland Parker.[24]

By 1858, Lockwood decided to abandon his Newark residence and his studio was taken over by the well-known genre painter, Mrs. Lilly Martin Spencer, in that year.[25] About the same time, Lockwood also abandoned the profession of painting for that of architecture. No trace of his activity is found for the next five years, but in 1863 he is listed in the New York City directories with an office at 293 Broadway and a home at 240 Cumberland Street in Brooklyn. He seems to have maintained his Broadway office through 1876, although his home addresses changed. In 1868 his home was located in New York City at West 158th Street, near 10th Avenue; in 1872 it was at 201 East 71st Street; in 1873 it was again in Brooklyn; in 1875 it was located at 331 Dean Street in Brooklyn and in 1876 it was at 381 Cumberland Street, still in Brooklyn. During these years his profession is listed in the directories as architect.

Although Lockwood changed his profession, he did not change his interests, and his important architecture, as his important paintings, were designed to serve religious purposes. This is proved in an interesting letter written by Lockwood to his early patron, Marcus L. Ward, from his office on Broadway, and dated December 16, 1867.[26] In this letter Lockwood explained that he considered himself a failure as a painter despite the encouragement given by such friends as Ward. He therefore turned to church architecture, and his letter reveals an extensive list of buildings to his credit:

St. John's Methodist Church, Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn
Congregational Church, Jersey City
Catholic Church, 7th and Erie, Jersey City
1st Methodist Church, Newburgh
Catholic Church, Newburgh
St. Paul's Methodist Church, Peekskill

[24] *The Genealogy of the Lockwood Family.*
[25] *Cosmopolitan Art Journal,* II (1858), 209.
[26] Letter in the collection of the New Jersey Historical Society.

Catholic Church, Peekskill
Unitarian Church, 40th Street, New York City
St. Paul's Convent Church, 49th Street and Ninth Avenue, New York City
Congregational Church, Elm Place, Brooklyn
Universalist Church, Green Avenue, Brooklyn
1st Presbyterian Church, Middleton, New York

and smaller churches in Hyde Park, Sing Sing, Cornwall, Buttermilk Falls, New Castle and Rhinebeck.

His buildings were not only ecclesiastic; he had sent a design to Albany for the State Capitol building, and he was writing to Ward for the latter's assistance in order to secure the new Post Office and United States Court Building in New York City.

Lockwood also gave a small amount of family news. He mentioned that he now had a boy of eleven and that his daughter, Helen, had married a Mr. Colburn of Washington. Through other sources, it is known too that another daughter, a Mrs. Frances Brundage, became a painter, and thus carried on that aspect of her father's career.[27]

Nothing more is known of Lockwood's life or career. He seems certainly to have been successful as an architect, judging by the number of buildings to his credit in what was, after all, a short period of time. Although he seems no longer to have been in Brooklyn or New York after 1876 he is not found in obituary notices of that year and since the 1889 account of him mentions his date of birth but not his death date, it may be presumed that he was still alive at the time.

Lockwood emerges from this story as an artist of sincerity; one whose failure lay more in the fact that he was not attune to the demands of his time rather than in a lack of ability. Religious art was never so less a part of the culture of a period nor less in demand than the mid-nineteenth century in America. Yet, he was willing to gamble nine years of his life for his ideal and even after he was forced to acknowledge defeat he continued, in a different vein, to offer his services to art and to religion. That he was able to do so is attributable partly to his ability and certainly to his amazing versatility. For this reason, as a solitary symbol of the religious artist in an alien period, he deserves to be remembered.

[27]Information courtesy of Mrs. Charlotte Rutschilling, Minister, Ohio, who owns two paintings by Mrs. Brundage.

APPENDIX

Paintings and Sculptures Known to Have Been Created by Rembrandt Lockwood

Portrait of Jacob Van Meter, 1840, owned by Mrs. W. J. Henry, Seattle
Portrait of Martha Van Meter, 1840, owned by Mrs. W. J. Henry, Seattle
Portrait of Dr. Channing, probably 1843
Portrait of a Lady, probably 1843
Portrait of a Man, probably 1849, owned by Marcus L. Ward, and very possibly representing him
Fulton and Chancellor Livingston, 1851, owned by W. H. Webb (?)
Scene from Shakespeare—Falstaff, by 1847, owned by Mrs. Caroline Wilson
The Imprisonment of Ugolino, by 1849, owned by R. W. Lee
Romeo and Juliet, by 1850
Life in a Monastery, by 1849, owned by John W. Herron
Interior, by 1848, owned by Charles Jackson
Interior, by 1851, owned by A. W. Canfield
Lilly of the Valley, by 1849, owned by H. Harris
Sappho, by 1850, owned by T. H. Stephens
Girl with Fruit, by 1850, owned by J. C. Woodruff
Interior with Sheep, by 1847, owned by Allison Owen; in 1849 owned by Charles Stetson
Sheepfold, by 1848, owned by I. Tichenor Wright
Interior with Cattle, by 1850, owned by Eleanor P. Stephens
A View on the Passaic River, by 1849, owned by Marcus L. Ward
Landscape, by 1850, owned by William B. Kinney
Sunset, by 1851, owned by Lewis M. Condict
Still Life—Fish in a Bowl and Fruit, by 1849
The Rose Bud, by 1850, owned by L. Bradley (This painting may have been a figure piece, rather than a still life)
Altar Pieces: St. Peter's, Richmond, Virginia
St. Vincent's, Baltimore, Maryland
St. Joseph's, Baltimore, Maryland
Carroll's Chapel, Baltimore, Maryland
Sisters of Charity, Baltimore, Maryland
St. Peter's, Baltimore, Maryland—three altar-pieces
St. Patrick's, Baltimore, Maryland—three altar-pieces
Last Judgement, 1845-54
6 cartoons
1 colored sketch, owned by Courtland Parker
1 pencil drawing, in preparation for it. Owned by Vose Galleries of Boston
Coleridge's Genevieve, by 1848, plaster

All ownership listings refer to the nineteenth century with the exception of the Van Meter portraits and the drawing of the *Last Judgement* which have been located.

Militia Law in Revolutionary Jersey

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THE BEGINNINGS, 1775-1776

GOVERNOR William Franklin, on May 6, 1775, wrote the Earl of Dartmouth describing colonial reaction to the "proceedings of the King's Troops at Concord and the immediate consequences thereof." The governor indignantly told of a gathering that had come to Amboy for no good purpose.

> They are arming themselves, forming into Companies, and taking uncommon Pains to perfect themselves in Military Discipline . . . A great Number of the Inhabitants of Freehold in Monmouth County were persuaded to believe that Hostilities were ordered to be commenced against all the Colonies, and that a Man of War was lying in the Bay near Sandyhook with a Design to send up a boat in the Night to carry off the Money in the Treasury, and the Records in the Secretary's Office at Amboy. In consequence of this Report, some of the Committee of Freehold with upwards of 30 of the Militia, arm'd with Firelocks, set out on Wednesday Afternoon last, and travelled through Brunswick to Woodbridge within 3 Miles of this place, where they got about Midnight, and would have come down immediately here, in order to carry off the Treasury & Records, had they not been persuaded by some of the Woodbridge Committee to desist from their Enterprize till they call a Meeting of the neighboring Committees in the Morning. These Committees when they met disapproved of the Measure and prevailed on those inconsiderate People to return Home, which they did, marching through Amboy by my Door, with Colours, Drum & Fife.[1]

On May 11th, newspapers reported the arrival of Congressional delegates from Boston, Connecticut, and New York, who were received at the ferry by a Captain Allen, at the head of his troop of horse, and Captain Rutgers, with his grenadiers,

[1]New Jersey Archives, 1st Ser., X, 591-92.

"which were allowed by the gentlemen present to be as complete companies as they had seen." The *New York Journal,* in reporting this arrival, went on to say that the delegates proceeded to Newark for entertainment, drank "Patriotic toasts" and, after dinner, were escorted to Elizabeth-town for more welcoming ceremonies.[2]

Militia organizations were on the move, not only in Monmouth and Essex counties, but in the Raritan Valley as well, where residents were organizing with such "martial spirit as truly merits the attention of the public," according to the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of May 31, 1775. They had been "daily exercising" to become "complete masters of military art and discipline." On May 6th, they had chosen Captain Abraham Ten Eyck to command a company, and eighty-five volunteers immediately enlisted, prepared, on an hour's notice "to march for the assistance of any neighboring colony on any emergency." The editor hoped that other counties and townships would follow this shining example, "as it may be necessary to repel force by force, in order to secure our national rights and privileges."[3]

Hillsborough Township, in Somerset County, conducted an election on May 3rd, and the minutes of this election show how the militia were enrolled. Companies met and chose their officers and they, in turn, selected officers for a company of minute-men who were "to beat up for volunteers to raise said Company to consist of 60 men who are to be exercised twice per week, and to be ready at a minute's warning to march in defense of the liberty of our country."

When men had been enlisted, they were to receive one shilling sixpence, for every day they were required to attend training. Officers received pay proportionately, according to rank. If the company were ordered to active duty, a captain would receive six shillings; a lieutenant, five; a second lieutenant (and "inferior officers"), three. Money to provide this pay was to be raised by a local tax. The Committee, however, on May 16th, went into debt to the amount of £40 proclamation money to buy 140 pounds of powder, 420 of lead, and 210 flints. All provisions,

[2]*Ibid.,* XXXI, 129.
[3]*Ibid.,* p. 139.

should the call to duty sound, were to be provided by the Committee on the township's credit.[4]

Meanwhile, Governor Franklin was still writing letters to Dartmouth. On June 5th, the Earl was notified that a Provincial Convention was sitting at Trenton, and had resolved to raise £10,000 with which to support a body of militia, "which they propose to have well disciplined and ready for immediate Service." He also reported that the Newark Committee had proposed the Provincial Congress appoint and commission a "Commandant of Militia and all the Field Officers, and County Committees appoint the Captains and Subalterns." Franklin felt that those forming militia companies were serious for, in the same letter, he said, "I have already received a Number of Resignations from the Militia Officers who held Commissions under me, and I daily expect more. Their Ambition is now, it seems, to have Commisions from the Congress or Conventions."[5]

The Provincial Congress, "being apprehensive that all pacific measures for the redress of our grievances will prove ineffectual," passed a Militia Act on June 3rd, thinking it to be "highly necessary that the inhabitants of this Province be forthwith properly armed and disciplined, for defending the cause of American freedom."[6] This appears to have been a temporary law, enabling the new government to assume control of independent military organizations forming throughout the Province.

This law provided that each private soldier be furnished with good arms, powder and ball and, should there be shortages of arms, the captain of the company was to request them from the township committee of safety, which was also responsible for equipping another organization, known as "minute-men."[7]

It will be well, at this point, to look at the various military forces in existence within the new "State of New Jersey." Jerseymen served throughout the war in three services, the Continental Line, the State Troops and the Militia. At the outset of the war, in addition to these, as already mentioned, there was another

[4]Abraham Messler, *Centennial History of Somerset County* (Somerville, N.J., 1878), Appendix, pp. 1-2.

[5]*New Jersey Archives,* 1st Ser., X, 603-04.

[6]*Minutes of the Provincial Congress & Council of Safety of the State of New Jersey* (Trenton, N.J., 1879), p. 179.

[7]*Ibid.,* p. 189.

"branch" known as the Minute Troops. These units were manned by volunteers from the militia and, eventually, were merged into it. All minutemen were militiamen, but not all militiamen were minutemen. State Troops, also volunteers from the militia, were liable to duty in New Jersey or adjoining states. They are also known as "New Jersey Levies" and "Five Months Levies," in addition to their designation as "State Troops." These were formed into two companies, an Eastern and a Western, in February, 1776. Battalions were raised in the state to serve with the Continental forces under Continental officers and were not usually mentioned separately from the regular troops of the line, being cited along with all others under the same Continental commander.[8] The portion of the New Jersey military forces known as "Militia," organized and serving as such, is the subject of this paper—the "Jersey Farmers," as some have called them.[9]

Under the Militia Act of June 3, 1775, existing militia organizations were to be continued, providing they adopted the rules prescribed by the act. If all officers authorized had not been chosen, they were to be, immediately. The Congress thanked the counties of Morris, Sussex, and Somerset for their efforts in forming companies without waiting for the passage of a militia act.[10] A requirement that military organizations be formed in townships was not to disrupt companies already constituted, should they cross township lines. These were to continue, along with the other units, so long as they were organized prior to July 20, 1775.[11]

Companies were provided for in each township or corporation and, in order to set quotas for service, Committees were to ascertain the number of male inhabitants between the ages of 16 and 50 capable of bearing arms, and immediately form them into companies.[12] Officers were selected by the companies, a captain, two lieutenants, and an ensign for each, and were chosen, according to the practice of the day, by members of the unit from

[8]W. S. Stryker, *Official Register of Officers & Men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War* (Trenton, 1872), p. 319.

[9]Cornelius C. Vermeule, in *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, New Ser., IX, 234-48, reviews numerical contributions of New Jersey to the various Revolutionary War military organizations, tending to show that the contributions of the state were generally larger than popularly supposed.

[10]*Minutes of Provincial Congress & Council of Safety, N.J.*, p. 181.

[11]*Ibid.*, p. 188.

among "persons . . . of sufficient substance and capacity." These officers were to appoint sergeants, corporals and drummers, meet with the officers of other companies, and select their regimental leaders—one colonel, a lieutenant colonel, a major and an adjutant.

Captains were to be provided with muster-rolls, signed by every member of their respective commands. These were headed by acknowledgements of having "voluntarily enlisted" and included a promise to "obey our officers in such service as they shall appoint us, agreeable to the rules and orders of the Provincial Congress." Training assemblies were to be held at least once a month by each company for the "improvement of military discipline," and a general muster of the entire regiment was held whenever required by the field officers.[13]

One of the most unsatisfactory provisions of this law was that which permitted eligible men to refuse to enroll and bear arms, paying, instead, a monthly penalty of four shillings proclamation money, as the equivalent of service. No action was to be taken to force them to serve, so long as they paid the fee. Only when they refused to pay would a report be referred to the Provincial Congress. Penalties for absence from training assemblies were also lax, providing merely a forfeiture of two shillings, proclamation, for each day absent without leave. Once again, the Congress would be notified only if the delinquent refused to pay, and no person was to be fined more than twice during any one month. Fines and forfeitures collected were to be used in defraying the cost of instruction and equipment for the company.[14] Officers violating the recommendation of the Congress that "all inferior officers pay due obedience to their superior Officers," were to have their cases referred to the Committee of the County in which the offender was commissioned, for investigation. The offending officer could be suspended, and his case referred by the Committee of the County to the Committee of Safety for the state, or to the Provincial Congress, for final action.

The Provincial Congress, on August 16th, secured tighter control over the military by approving a resolution requiring that

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 179.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 180.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 189.

all officers be commissioned by the legislature, after having been elected locally. All officers above the rank of captain were to be appointed, in the future, by either the Provincial Congress or Council of Safety of the state.[15] Officers commissioned by the Provincial Congress were required to first sign the "Association" recommended by the Militia Ordinance, and to resign from any commissions held by authority of the Militia Act of the Assembly under the royal governor.[16]

The top command of the militia was to be vested in the Congress and Council of the state, and two brigadier generals were to be appointed as field commanders. The vacancy for the "First Brigadier General" was left open, but "Philemon Dickerson" was appointed to the position of "Second Brigadier General" and, on the following October 19th, became First Brigadier General of the New Jersey Militia.[17]

Some officers, such as Colonel Taylor, of Monmouth County, occasionally held two commissions. In the Taylor case, the county had recommended that the Colonel be allowed to hold the commission of captain and that of colonel in the same regiment at the same time. Congress, however, ruled that no officer in the militia service might hold two commissions at the same time, nor could one individual be an officer in the Minute Troops at the same time as in the "common" militia.[18]

The Provincial Congress, during August, 1775, took notice of the "peculiar religious principles" of the Quakers and, "intending no violence to conscience," recommend they contribute, in lieu of actual service, even more liberally than required for the relief of their "distressed brethren," consistent with their religious principles.[19]

On the militia, in 1775, fell the burden of furnishing troops for the so-called "minute troops," organized alongside the former. This other "civilian component" of the military had an authorized strength of four thousand men, organized into sixty-two companies, of sixty-four men each, including officers. These were

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 187-88.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 192.
[17] *Minutes of the Provincial Congress & Council of Safety*, pp. 192, 221. The spelling, *Dickerson*, should be *Dickinson*.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 202.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 192.

formed into battalions, by counties, with a total of ten battalions and four independent companies of rangers and infantry. They were to hold themselves in constant readiness to defend New Jersey or any neighboring province, on the shortest notice.[20]

Officers to lead these minute companies were nominated by county committees and, where such committees did not exist, by the township committee. They received commissions as soon as their companies were up-to-strength. Muster-rolls signed by the minutemen were similar to those of the militia, except there was a provision acknowledging an obligation to be "in constant readiness," with short notice, "to march to any place where our assistance may be required for the defense of this or any neighboring Colony," and promising to be obedient to officers, not only agreeable with the rules and orders of the Provincial Congress and Committee of Safety of New Jersey but, also, "to the rules and orders of the Continental Congress."

Minute companies might be officered by the same individuals, whenever a whole, or large part of, a militia company enlisted in service as minutemen. However, as already noted, the Provincial Congress ruled that an officer could not hold commissions in both the militia and minute organizations, thus one office would have to be vacated, should the officer concerned continue with his company once it had entered the minute service. Battalions and companies of minutemen had the same rank and precedence as the "common Militia of the Province" and members continued in service for four months, after which they might be relieved, unless serving on active duty.[21] Officers and men organized into units as minutemen were directed, on August 31st, to adopt hunting frocks as a uniform, modeled as closely as possible after those worn by Continental riflemen.[22]

On October 28th, a new Militia Act became law in which provisions were made for specific arms and accoutrements, as well as providing a schedule of forfeitures to be awarded those not satisfactorily participating in their military obligation. Minimum equipment required for each soldier included a musket, or firelock, one bayonet, a sword, or tomahawk, a steel ramrod,

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 190.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 191.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

priming wire and brush, a cartouch-box, with a 23-round capacity, twelve flints, and a knapsack. Militiamen reporting for training without muskets were fined two shillings, each, and, if delinquent in any other accoutrement, one shilling for each violation. A pound of powder and three pounds of ball were to be kept by each individual at his "place of abode," the latter of "the proper size for his musket or firelock." Men refusing to serve as sergeants or corporals, when selected, and noncommissioned officers negligent in the duty of alerting their men in case of emergency, were to forfeit twelve shillings.

Officers already commissioned, as well as those appointed under this new law, were to subscribe to a promise "under all the ties of religion, honor and regard to our Country," to carry into execution the resolves and orders of the Provincial Congress and render obedience to superior officers.[23]

Fines were recovered in cash, and should the delinquent refuse to pay, a warrant of distress was levied against his goods. Sergeants detailed to collect the fines, or levy them, were subject to a forty-shilling fine for each neglect of this duty. Noncommissioned officers performing the duty satisfactorily were authorized to levy one shilling, above the amount of the warrant, to be kept as a reward for their "trouble." A major, or adjutant, levying or collecting a fine in the line of duty was allowed a bonus of five shillings for each warrant's execution. Proceeds from the forfeitures were used by the offender's unit to supply needed arms to men unable to provide for themselves. Money received from fines was not allowed to accumulate in a company fund, for any amounts not expended within two months after collection, were to be paid to the county committee. Fines and forfeitures received from officers above the rank of lieutenant were paid directly to the county committee for use towards the "common defence of the Colony."[24]

This October law also provided definite mobilization instructions. Should armed invasion occur, or an alarm be signaled, every militiaman and minuteman, unless otherwise instructed, was to report immediately, with proper equipment, to the home of his captain. The captain, or company commander, nearest the

[23] *Minutes of Provincial Congress & Council of Safety*, pp. 239-40.
[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 241, 244.

place of alarm immediately dispatched a courier to the regimental commander, then marched to oppose the enemy. During a period of invasion, or alarm, officers and soldiers were subject to courts-martial and conducted themselves under the same rules and orders as the Continental troops.

Previous acts had no specific provision for the control and enrollment of migrants from one colony to another. Now, by virtue of this law, eligible persons were to enroll within two weeks after their arrival in New Jersey, and were subject to the same fines and penalties as residents.

Minutemen were subject to the same rules as those ordered for the government of the militia, and fines and penalties for non-compliance were recovered in the same way. Members of the minute-service called out to assist a neighboring colony came under the *Articles of War* established by the Continental Congress, and were to serve under their own officers, unless a Continental officer of superior rank were present.[25]

The new act specifically provided for organization of troops of light horse. There were to be not more than forty privates in each, and one company per county. Each regiment was to be led by a colonel, lieutenant colonel, and major, and was subject to the command of the brigadier generals of the province, the Provincial Congress and the Committee of Safety. These regiments were to be under the same regulations and subject to the same penalties as directed by this ordinance for the foot militia.[26]

Residents of the colony whose religious beliefs prohibited the bearing of arms, notably the Quakers, were required to pay the chairman of the county committee an equivalent of service, amounting to four shillings per month for their exemption, in lieu of the voluntary contributions urged by the previous ordinance. Those neglecting payment had distress warrants levied against their goods and chattles. Any amounts realized from a sale, in excess of that to be confiscated, were to be returned to the delinquent, less one shilling, sixpence, costs. An individual required to pay an equivalent of service was excused from payment if he could satisfy the County Committee that he had been sick, out of the Province, or on other public business on

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 241-43.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

training days. Appeals from fines could be made within two months to the committee of the township or county of the delinquent's residence. This was taken under consideration and, should the reviewers find for the appellant, suitable redress was granted by returning all, or a part, of the money paid. If the goods under warrant of distress had not been sold at the time of appeal, "the committee then may give such order therein as to them may seem just and right, conforming themselves in such decisions, as near as may be, to the true intent and meaning of this Ordinance."[27] A weakness in this system of appeals is readily seen in the fact that the committee handling an appeal was the same group responsible for levying the fine, and would benefit from a disallowed appeal. The effectiveness of special appeals brought by those thought to be "tainted" with disaffection is particularly questionable under such an arrangement.

This second militia ordinance under the provisional government was more effective than the first, in that it provided for more rigid administration of regulations. Much, however, was left to the discretion of county committees, resulting in a lack of uniformity in enforcement at the local level, as well as in effective centralized control at the Provincial level. Penalties for non-participation were still comparatively light, and the system for appointment of officers unsatisfactory, elections remaining the mode of selection. Penalties for improper equipment were light, and, in view of existing shortages, perhaps rightly so. The act was an improvement over previous laws in specifically requiring certain minimum standards of equipment for the individual soldier. The Provincial Congress authorized its members to hold blank, signed certificates of commission, to be used by members in "distant" counties and, while the intent of this is undoubtedly commendable, it certainly was not good administrative practice to have such documents under the control of an individual to dispense more or less as he saw fit, even though the law stipulated they were to be delivered only upon a certification by the county committee that the candidate had been duly elected.[28]

On February 12, 1776, the Provincial Congress received a

[27] *Minutes of Provincial Congress & Council of Safety*, pp. 244-45.
[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 245-46.

letter from Colonel John Neilson, of the Middlesex Battalion of minutemen, requesting that they be "placed on some more respectable footing &c."[29] Memorials were received from other quarters, as well, regarding the minutemen and, after some deliberation on February 24th, it was ordered that an ordinance be prepared incorporating the "former minute department of Militia" into the "standing Militia."[30] Accordingly, "An Ordinance for incorporating the minute-men lately raised in this Colony into the body of militia; and for further regulating said militia" was, on March 2nd, passed. This law recognized that "our defence, under God, chiefly depends upon a well regulated militia," and ordered that all units of minutemen be immediately merged into the militia companies of their home districts, "as though such minutemen had never been raised."[31]

This act of March 2nd also provided that every person disarmed for refusing to sign the Association should be subject to the same fines and forfeitures for non-attendance and evasion of duty in the militia, or for non-payment of an equivalent, as though he had not been disarmed. Further, anyone who misbehaved at musters, was disorderly, or who disobeyed an officer, was to forfeit six shillings for each occurrence, to be "recovered and applied as for non-attendance."[32]

The Militia Ordinance of October 28, 1775, was further amended by the Convention, as reported on August 3, 1776.[33] This change provided, in the face of "the arrival of the enemy in the neighborhood of this State, the burden is become greater to the Militia thereof," that those refusing to bear arms should justly pay greater penalties for their violations of the law. Penalties now authorized ranged from £20 for a colonel to £6 for an ensign and, for an equivalent of service, twenty shillings from those refusing to bear arms.[34]

Early in 1776, the Continental Congress requested that the New Jersey Militia furnish troops to assist in the defense of New

[29]*Ibid.*, p. 361.
[30]*Ibid.*, p. 385.
[31]*Ibid.*, pp. 436-37.
[32]*Ibid.*, p. 437.
[33]The Provincial Congress was redesignated a Convention after adoption of the State Constitution on July 2, 1776.
[34]*New Jersey Archives*, 2nd Ser., I, 163-64.

York, in order to prevent landings by the enemy. These troops were to be under the command of Major General Lee, and the request appealed to the "zeal and patriotism" of the Jerseymen, as well as pointing out the great advantage to be gained by these troops from the benefits of practical field training. Militiamen "will not only render a very essential service to their country, but also have an opportunity of acquiring military skill and knowledge in the construction of field works, and the method of fortifying and entrenching camps, by which they will be better able, when occasion calls, to defend their rights and liberties." The Convention unanimously approved the request, and authorized a battalion to be raised under the command of Colonel Charles Stewart. These troops were to receive the same pay and provisions as allowed Continental troops, while on active duty.[35] The march of the militia got off to a false start—in fact, it didn't start at all. Colonel Stewart's orders for New York were cancelled by the Continental Congress on Monday, February 22nd. All available arms in possession of the Continental legislature had been used to supply their own troops, so none were left for use by the militia, which could secure suitable weapons from no other source.[36]

On June 3rd, the Continental Congress resolved to establish a flying camp in New Jersey, consisting of 10,000 men, made up of the militia of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware. Further, it was resolved to employ 13,000 militia to reinforce the army at New York. New Jersey's quota to the latter force was 3,300. The Conventions of the states were admonished to take particular care to send their units properly equipped with arms, accoutrements and camp kettles. A letter from Washington was forwarded to the New Jersey Convention urging compliance with the request for troops.[37]

General Livingston, on June 21st, was informed of the Convention's desire that he take command of the militia organizing for duty in New York. However, on the 25th, he declined and Colonel Heard was promoted to the rank of brigadier general

[35] *Minutes of Provincial Congress & Council of Safety*, pp. 369-70.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 388.
[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 447-49.

to command these forces.[38] The corps was to leave for New York on June 14th, and pay for the troops had been set at fifty shillings, proclamation money, per month; for privates, commencing on the day of departure from home, with a travel allowance of one penny per mile, in lieu of rations, and one day's pay for every twenty miles between home and the general rendezvous.[39] The entire command was composed of five battalions, of eight companies, with seventy-eight noncommissioned officers and privates, each, under the command of Heard. They were to be recruited by voluntary enlistment, continuing in service until December 1st, unless sooner discharged. A special enlistment agreement was drawn up, calling for conformation to regulations established for the army and promising to fulfill the term of service, unless sooner relieved. Each enlistee was to furnish, at his own expense, a good musket with a bayonet, a cartouch-box, one blanket, one canteen and one knapsack. A bounty of £3, proclamation money, in addition to Continental pay and allowances, was paid each man when he marched to join the forces at the general rendezvous. A proviso in the organizational act permitted this force to serve in the city of New York and adjacent parts, but no other place outside of New Jersey. Commissaries for supplies were to furnish the five battalions with 660 camp kettles, or about one kettle for every five men. They were to be issued to the troops on a loan basis only for this particular campaign. Residents of the state not actually engaging in this service, were requested by the legislature to lend or sell their arms and accoutrements to the volunteers who did enlist.[40]

Some residents of Burlington County petitioned the Convention on June 21st, requesting that men recruited under this ordinance be subsisted and paid from time of enlistment, rather than from time of departure from home. This was granted after the legislature noted that no provision had been made in the ordinance for their subsistence during the interim between time of enlistment and time of march. They considered it "highly reasonable that some provision should be made therefore," thus recognizing that the men had been in an awkward position

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 475.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 548.
[40] *Minutes of the Provincial Congress & Council of Safety*, pp. 548-49.

while awaiting orders. Every commissioned officer was allowed fifteen shillings per week from the time he began to recruit until he marched, and each noncommissioned officer and private was allowed seven shillings, sixpence, per week, during the same period.[41] The officers still weren't satisfied, since those belonging to the militia of Gloucester County complained, on June 28th, that fifteen shillings per week were inadequate to defray the costs of enlisting men, and requested the legislature to make additional "allowance as is reasonable and necessary."[42]

In addition to the original quota of three battalions furnished for the defense of New York, an augmentation of 2,000 men was requested by the Continental Congress for the flying camp. The Convention immediately ordered the necessary militiamen detached, to serve for a month at a time, on a rotation basis. This force was to be raised by Colonel John Wetherill, of the Foot Militia of Middlesex County, but on July 31st, a letter was sent to the Colonel stating that, "the present alarming exigencies require the utmost dispatch in this service. The Convention is at a perfect loss for Colonel Wetherill's reason in not exerting himself in making up the detachment from his regiment, as directed." An "immediate, explicit reply by the bearer" was desired. The next day we read of the Colonel, "John Wetherill, Esq., Colonel of the second battalion of foot militia in the County of Middlesex, having informed . . . that he was not able to perform the duty of his office, owing to his indisposition and advanced age, and was desirous of resigning his commission, if agreeable to the Convention." Needless to say, the Convention was agreeable, and the resignation was accepted forthwith.[43] This incident points out another weakness in the militia regulations of the day, the lack of standard and adequate physical requirement for commissioned officers.

An "Ordinance for the Immediate Detaching of One-Half the Militia of this State to Join the Flying Camp" was passed on July 18th, and provided the basis for the rotation of troops for the camp. The twenty thousand men were to be sent to the

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 469, 476.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 481.
[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 511, 521, 526-27, 529-30.

flying camp to replace the same number drawn off for duty in New York by the Continental Army. Four battalions of thirty-six companies were to make up the force, with a term of service of one month, computed from the time they joined the flying camp. While on this duty, members of the brigade were to receive the same pay, rations and allowances as the brigade under General Heard, to accrue from time of departure. Officers were to immediately agree on a captain, one lieutenant and an ensign for each company, and the field officers were to appoint their adjutant and quartermaster. Each man was to come equipped with a good musket, a bayonet, a tomahawk, a cartouch-box, blanket, canteen and knapsack. The four battalions were to form one brigade. Any militiamen were at liberty to leave this service to enlist in General Heard's Brigade, just as though they were not on active duty and, should they do so, receive the £3 bounty.

The scarcity of camp kettles that had faced other units now confronted this brigade. They were, "indeed impossible to . . . procure." It was recommended that each company be divided into lots of six men and each lot furnish itself with a kettle. Should any kettles be taken by the enemy, damaged or destroyed, in the line of duty, the state was to make restitution to the owners.[44]

Another law was passed on August 11th, providing once more for the detaching of one-half of the militia on rotation, this time, dividing the forces into two divisions. Personnel were to volunteer for the division they desired, but where volunteers could not be secured, members were to be chosen by lot. The first division was to be immediately equipped and moved without delay to the flying camp. One of the regiments, or battalions, was to furnish a colonel, the other a lieutenant colonel, and so on, alternately, until all officers had been assigned. It was to be decided by lot which organization should furnish the colonel, or field officer, of the division moving out first. Wherever agreement could not be reached, the controversy was decided by lot. When a battalion was formed from three regiments, the field officers were to go in rotation. The second division was formed from the remaining personnel of the units that had furnished troops for the first.

[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 563-66.

The latter was to continue in service for one month, then be replaced by the second, and so on, until orders to the contrary should be issued by the legislature, the Commander-in-Chief or one of the brigadier generals of the state.

Where shortages of arms existed, a sufficient number of the best were taken from units being relieved, by the division going on active duty. Any arms taken by the enemy, lost or damaged while on loan were to be made good by the state. Penalties for officers not complying with orders to active duty were rather severe, when compared with punishment authorized by previous acts, and included cashiering and reduction to the ranks, in addition to a fine ranging from £20 for a colonel to £6 for an ensign, lieutenant or adjutant. Noncommissioned officers and privates were to be fined £3, and the former reduced in rank. Every private was permitted to provide a substitute in his place, so long as the alternate was acceptable to the company commander. Members of units left behind, who did not go out with one of the divisions, were to provide adequate compensation for the families of all who might be killed or wounded in this service. Those persons "of property," above the military age, not required to pay a fine, or perform active duty, were to assist in supporting these dependents of those who had gone on duty. The Convention took this opportunity to warn the people of the state of their danger, feeling there was a large number of the "inhabitants supinely slumbering on the brink of ruin" in view of an "active, inveterate, and implacable enemy, increasing fast in strength, daily receiving reinforcements, and industriously preparing to strike some decisive blow."[45]

Here, once again, we may see an improvement in the militia laws, yet there were still glaring inequities, as well as deficiencies. Governor Livingston, in a speech before the Convention, reported in the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* on October 1, 1776, called several of these to the attention of the lawmakers, stating that some further regulations respecting the militia were quickly needed. A law was required for impressing such articles as the "exigencies of the service require." No allowance had been made "for the provender of the light horse when in actual service, and it being

[45]*Minutes of Provincial Congress & Council of Safety,* pp. 568-72.

impossible from their perpetual station, and being frequently employed as expresses, for the Commissaries to provide them, it is reasonable the men should be allowed an equivalent for keeping their horses themselves."[46]

The exigencies of the moment dictated the militia laws of the first two years of the war, as would be the case in later years. New Jersey was strategically located in the center of the struggling nation, hence operations of the war were mainly concentrated in the area of the Garden State. Pressures from the Continental Congress, as well as from the militia commanders and the inhabitants of the state made themselves felt in the state legislature. Laws affecting the military operations of the state forces had to be quickly made to fit the moment, were constantly changed, and, generally, satisfied no one. In a succeeding article we shall examine some of the criticism leveled at the New Jersey Militia Acts during 1777, and subsequent attempts to improve them.

[46] *New Jersey Archives*, 2nd Ser., I, 202.

Special Emphasis on New Jersey in the
OCTOBER ISSUE OF ANTIQUES MAGAZINE

FURNITURE: Early New Jersey cabinetmakers and their work: an article by the curator of decorative arts at the Newark Museum, based on the museum's coming exhibition of New Jersey furniture • *PRINTS:* Early views of the Falls of the Passaic, in its day a scenic rival of Niagara. And see "Falls of the Passaic" at the Society—a loan exhibition of prints, paintings and photographs. • *TEXTILES:* A New Jersey woven bedspread, early product of Paterson's textile industry. An article by a member of the Society. • *LIVING WITH ANTIQUES:* The New Jersey home of a distinguished private collector and a Trustee of the Society. • *HISTORY IN HOUSES:* The early eighteenth-century house built by William Trent, founder of Trenton. • *SILVER:* Discovery in silver: a caudle cup by Jeremiah Dummer of Boston. • *CERAMICS:* China-trade enamel, beautiful and hitherto obscure cousin of China-trade porcelain: an article based on the recent exhibition at the Wilmington Society of the Fine Arts.

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ANTIQUER'S ATTIC

MARGARET E. WHITE

THE Antiquer's Attic, October 1954, contained some information about John Jelliff in an article on "Cabinetmakers of New Jersey." In the past four years since that article appeared, additional data have been collected on this eminent craftsman which are now offered in hopes that more information about Jelliff and more furniture made by him may come to light.

JOHN JELLIFF, CABINETMAKER OF NEWARK

The town and city of Newark has had many chair and cabinetmakers in its day. In the eighteenth century Isaac Alling, Matthias Bruen, and John Mann were active craftsmen, each maintaining his independent trade on or near Broad Street. By the turn of the century, furniture-making was evidently a competitive and thriving business that reached far beyond town limits, for when Henry B. Fearon of England was visiting New York in 1817 he noted "Chair making here, as in the town of Newark, ten miles distant, is an extensive business. Newark is a manufacturing town of some importance: carriages and chairs are made on a very extensive scale, chiefly for the southern markets." Fearon also stated, "The cabinet work executed in this city (New York) is light and elegant, superior indeed, I am inclined to believe, to English workmanship. Cabinet-makers' shops of which there are several in Greenwich-street, contain a variety, but not a large stock. They are generally small concerns, apparently owned by journeymen, . . . they state their business to have been at one time good, but that there is now too much competition." (Fearon, *Sketches of America,* London, 1819)

John Jelliff may justly be regarded as Newark's foremost cabinetmaker. He was born at Norwalk, Connecticut, on July 30, 1813, the fourth of eight children born to Hezekiah and Nancy Jelliff. His great-grandfather, Thomas Jelliff, had come from England in 1745 and bought a tract of land in Norwalk. John's mother, Nancy Bennett, was a Quaker who came from Huntington, Long Island.

On August 7, 1828 or '29, John was apprenticed to Lemuel M. Crane of Newark to learn "the art, trade and occupation of cabinetmaking." Presumably John Jelliff completed his apprenticeship in the late summer of 1835 for, as a "freeman" and established in his own business, he cast his vote at the first charter election in Newark on April 11, 1836. Also, he married Mary Marsh in the Dutch Reformed Church on March 16, 1836. Following their marriage, John

lived for a brief period at 13 Fair Street and his widowed mother made her home with him and Mary Jelliff. The family soon moved to 206 Washington Street — a more fashionable area — and Jelliff maintained an office and shop at 301-303 Broad Street, south of Market and next door to the site of the Kinney Building. A few years later he purchased four acres of land and built a home next to the Peshine property along Elizabeth Road in a "newer" section of town. A street has since been cut through and the house is now at 70 Johnson Avenue. Jeliff was interested in the founding of Grace Church and became one of its vestrymen.

In 1838 John Jelliff and Thomas L. Vantilburg were in partnership at 333 Broad Street, near the City Hall. They advertised as "Manufacturers and Dealers in Cabinet Furniture, Mahogany Chairs, Sofas, Mattrasses, etc. Will be found at all times at their Ware Rooms, a splendid assortment of Cabinet Ware of the latest patterns, cheap for cash." In 1846 Jelliff added to his customary notice "Coffins made to order."

In spite of the fact that by 1850 other establishments were beginning to sell machine-made products, Jelliff consistently refused to make anything but hand-made and hand-carved furniture. He bought his wood at auction in Newark and let it season about two years before using it. Today there is no evidence of warping, the drawers of chests slide out and in as though they had been newly waxed. His favorite woods were walnut and rosewood, with occasional use of maple or fruitwood as inlay. In 1847 Jelliff was awarded a silver medal by the Essex County Institute "for the best specimen of maghogany chairs exhibited." In 1850 the county census gave the estimated value of his property at $30,000.

John Jelliff has been termed a "straight-laced Yankee" and he appears to have been wary of progress in any form. One of his grandchildren recalls that he sternly objected when a bathtub was installed in his home (did Mary Jelliff have a mind of her own?). On the other hand, he believed in athletics for his seven daughters and when they married he cautioned each to keep her money separate from her husband's and thus be independent. Furthermore, he supplied them with most of their furniture. The Jelliffs had three sons but none lived to maturity. In the Museum's collection is a charming silhouette showing John and Mary Jelliff, Grandmother Nancy in Quaker garb, and three little daughters, the youngest seated on her mother's lap.

At the death of David Alling, "Fancy Chair Maker," in 1855 Jelliff took over his business which was bought by Peter G. McDermit four years later. A painting of David Alling's house and shop may be seen at the New Jersey Historical Society. The duplicate, owned by the Newark Museum, is illustrated in the PROCEEDINGS for October, 1954.

The partnership between Jelliff and Vantilburg only lasted five

John Jelliff Furniture. *Right:* Armchair made about 1855, of a type known as a gentleman's chair. (New Jersey Historical Society Collection.) *Left:* Rosewood desk made for Mrs. Daniel McMurtry. (Newark Museum Collection.)

years and for another eighteen years John Jelliff continued alone, designing and carving a great deal of the furniture produced in his shop. His designs, many of which have survived on scraps of paper and the backs of envelopes, followed the styles of the period: "Gothic" associated with the 1840's; "French rococo" made fashionable in Europe and America by the Empress Eugenie in the 1850's; "Italian Renaissance." These styles must have seemed refreshingly light in contrast to the heaviness of late Empire furniture. The Museum has two side chairs in pseudo-Gothic style made in 1838 and about 1860. A rosewood desk expressing the "French rococo" was made for Mrs. Daniel McMurtry who was Mary Roff, daughter of Stephen Roff whose tavern was on Branford Place, Newark. A double parlor set in rosewood, consisting of sofas, arm and side chairs, illustrates the "Italian Renaissance." The side chairs have short arm brackets to conform with the hoop skirts of the period. Even the carved tassels suspended from the top rails of the chairs are in keeping with the silk tassels then popular as dress trimming. These pieces, together with the silhouette of the family, are included in the current exhibition, "Early New Jersey Furniture 1695-1870, being shown at the Newark Museum through the first week of January, 1959.

About 1860, Jelliff took as partner Henry H. Miller, who had long been his foreman and had once been a favored apprentice living in the Jelliff household. It is said that the boy's place at table was next to Mary Jelliff so she could be sure he had enough to eat. At one time John Jelliff had thirty apprentices learning the trade in his shop. It might be well to explain here that the logical progression in trade was, first, the apprentice who spent some six or seven years learning a craft, then the graduate apprentice or "freeman" who might be the journeyman or workman hired by the day, then foreman and master craftsman. Throughout the eighteenth and first part of the nineteenth century — until factory methods prevailed — a master craftsman had his own shop where he was helped by apprentices, journeyman and, perhaps, a foreman, depending on the size of the business.

The Newark city directory for 1865-66 carries a full-page notice under the firm name of John Jelliff & Co., "Churches, Hotels, Banks, Lodges, Offices, etc., Furnished to Order, in the best Manner, and always at the lowest Market Prices FOR READY CASH!

"After 28 years of successful business in manufacturing, he need not say more than this: Our Furniture is still made in the best manner, as heretofore, and all of it warranted as represented. Our rooms are spacious, stock large and well assorted. Give us a call before purchasing." The firm was still located at 301 and 303 Broad, near Market Street.

By 1880 the firm had moved to 794-796 Broad Street, and adver-

tised as "Manufacturers of Parlor, Library, Dining Room and Chamber Furniture . . . Church, Bank, Lodge and Office Furniture, Mantel and Pier Glasses, (Best Spring Beds Made)." The Museum has a set of bedroom furniture in sycamore, made about 1885. Jelliff and Miller continued together until 1890 when the former withdrew. Jelliff's death occurred on July 2, 1893.

The fine workmanship of John Jelliff and his staff speaks for itself. Pieces made by Jelliff show that he was a craftsman of marked ability and taste, with a good sense of proportion, a keen eye for detail, and a carver's skill that should receive due recognition.

IN PROGRESS

The American Historical Association is preparing a *Guide to Photocopied Historical Materials in the United States and Canada,* under a grant from the Council on Library Resources, Inc. The *Guide* will be a desk reference book, paralleling the *Guide to Historical Literature,* that will tell where to find important bodies of microfilmed and other photocopied materials and how to use and procure them. It is expected to be published late in 1959.

The Association's Committee on Documentary Reproduction, with the assistance of an advisory committee of experts from the library and archival field, is supervising the collection of materials and editing. In this work the Archives section of the Canadian Historical Association is co-operating. The *Guide* will locate photocopied holdings of historical manuscripts by standard union list practices, according to traditional subject and period fields of history. This information is now being collected through co-operation with archives, libraries, and historical societies in both countries. Duplication of effort is currently avoided through the exchange of reports with the *Union List of Microfilms.* The method of preparing the text anticipates the possible issuance of supplements.

The editor solicits the aid of historians in both countries in the discovery and accurate description of holdings of photocopied manuscripts wherever they may be. He welcomes information that will assist him in making the *Guide* as complete as possible. The Editor is Dr. Richard W. Hale, Jr. Please address correspondence to him at: Boston University, Copley Square Campus, 84 Exeter Street, Room 401, Boston 16, Mass.

Stanley N. Katz (Dunster A-22, Harvard University Cambridge 38, Mass.) is writing a doctoral thesis, "The New York Aristocracy in Anglo-American Politics, 1710-1760," and will appreciate any pertinent documents or information on contemporary families.

Edward O. Mills (1391 Madison Ave., New York 29, N.Y.) is writing a biography of William Alexander, Lord Stirling. He is seeking information concerning Alexander manuscripts which may be in private collections.

OF BOOKS AND THINGS

FRED SHELLEY

FROM THE LIBRARY

ONE of the least satisfactory entries in the recent *Guide* to the Society's manuscripts is that for MG 20, the Peter D. Vroom Papers. Is was necessary at the moment of publication to list these papers as a large group not yet organized. Fortunately the continuing generosity of the Frelinghuysen Foundation provided funds for a Library Fellow, Miss Florence I. Holmes, who in 1957-58 organized the papers and indexed the correspondence in them. At the request of the Librarian, Miss Holmes wrote the description of the papers which follows. It helps fill a gap in the published information concerning our manuscripts.

The Vroom Papers

FLORENCE I. HOLMES

We at the New Jersey Historical Society feel that the Vroom papers are a real find for the state of New Jersey. Their detail covering the years from about 1816 to the late 1870's should prove a valuable contribution to the period and to the history of the state. These documents were purchased by the Society in 1952 and are now in the process of being organized and indexed.

Peter Dumont Vroom, one of New Jersey's outstanding lawyers, chancellor of the state and twice its governor, was born in Hillsborough Township on the banks of the Raritan, Somerset County, N.J., December 12, 1791. His life covered a long span of years, including sixty-one at the New Jersey bar. His death occurred on November 18, 1874.

Governor Vooom was educated at Columbia College and for many years, following a short period at Schooley's Mountain and Hackettstown, he lived and practiced law in Somerville. He was twice married. His first wife was one of the accomplished and attractive daughters of Col. Peter B. Dumont. His son John P. and his daughter Maria were born of this marriage. It is interesting to note that Frederick Frelinghuysen and William C. Elmendorf, distinguished New Jersey lawyers, also married daughters of Peter Dumont. Several years after the the death of his first wife, Vroom married the daughter of General Garret D. Wall and had four sons: Peter D., Garret D. Wall, James W., and Governeur P. The sons, John P. and Garret D. W. were also able lawyers in New Jersey.

Biographical sketches of the Governor, in addition to stressing his unusual ability and integrity in his

legal and political life, emphasize his rare virtues, unselfish character and the high religious principles of his private life. It has been stated that he was "dignified, courteous and kind"; also he has been referred to as "one whose discernment and accuracy were inferior to none of his standing at the bar."

Vroom was governor of New Jersey during the years 1829 to 1832 and 1833 to 1836. In 1837 President Van Buren appointed him on a commission to adjust claims under the treaty with the Choctaw Indians. He served a period in Congress but was glad to return to his legal practice which he resumed in Trenton. In 1853 he was appointed minister to the Court of Prussia, and he and his family resided in Berlin until 1857. Among the papers on file covering this consular period are many of interest such as letters of introduction of U.S. citizens traveling abroad, personal letters, bills and receipts which give an idea of living conditions in Germany at that time, cost of food, rent, clothing, etc., including gowns and hats purchased in Paris by his daughter. Maria.

The major part of the collection of manuscripts however relates to law cases over the years and to appeals during his governorship. His written opinions of which there are many in the collection are of note and were considered so sound that "for the most part they stood unquestioned" for years after.

Outstanding among the legal cases and suits are the Horace Day vs. Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company; the City of Hudson vs. various claimants the time of the opening of Summit Avenue and other streets; papers of the Water Commission of the City of Hudson (pleas of trespass, etc.); cases relating to the Morris Canal and Banking Company; the New Jersey Railroad Company (especially a mandamus to rebuild the bridge across the Raritan River); the Warren Railroad; the New Jersey Railroad and Transportation Company; land claims against other roads for damages and encroachments; Case vs. Trenton and New Brunswick Turnpike; also cases involving Trenton Banking Company, the Delaware and Raritan Canal; Camden and Amboy Transportation Company vs. Raritan and Delaware Bay Railroad Company; fishing laws on the Delaware, letters and documents concerning deaf mutes in New Jersey and court cases relating to many other subjects.

The collection also contains Peter D. Vroom's diaries and account books, litigation regarding settlement of estates of many New Jersey families, wills, deeds, and mortgages, all of which render a contribution to the history of the state.

A bit of human interest too is found in the several letters from members of the Vroom family. Among such are those from his sons who spent a summer vacation at Bar Harbor and wrote their father of the pleasures and otherwise of summer life there, giving a picture of resort life of the period. Also there is a letter from his little son away at school, very disgruntled at the life there and his desire to be taken home. Several other letters of

a personal nature are among the documents.

The subject arrangement of the manuscripts includes the diaries, account books, correspondence, major legal cases (chronologically and individually named), general court cases (chronological order). There also are isolated deeds, wills, addresses, broadsides, promissory notes, bills, receipts, church documents, and miscellany labeled as such. All of the letters in the chronological correspondence file have been indexed.

It is hoped the organization, arrangement and indexing of these valued documents, although not entirely completed, will prove an aid to the researcher.

NEW JERSEY IN PRINT

Counterfeiting in Colonial America. By Kenneth Scott. N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1957. 283 pages.

Professor Kenneth Scott has compiled a fascinating account of the men and women of colonial America who went into business for themselves—the business of making money. From the numbers and types of people involved in counterfeiting, it almost seems as though, in the words of a well-known entertainer of today, "Everybody wants to get into the act." And get into it they did, housewife and high sheriff, Indian tribesman and mine-owner, drifters and "pillars of society," individuals and organized gangs, Carolina county and New England township. And finally, at the very outbreak of the Revolution, the very government of Britain itself put the counterfeiting of Continental currency on a mass production basis.

The currencies of the colonies, varied as they were, provided wonderful opportunities for counterfeiting the bills of one colony to pass in another. The situation was further aided by the inability to read of many of the colonists. Counterfeit, though misspelled and otherwise inaccurate, could pass through many hands before being recognized for what it was. On the other hand some counterfeits were so accurate that many experts were deceived. To further complicate the detection of counterfeit, the plates might be made by the engraver responsible for the legal plates or signed by an individual with authority to sign legal emissions.

The severe penalties often involved did not seem to discourage many counterfeiters. In the face of penalties including hanging, branding, cropping or cutting off ears, standing in the pillory, whipping, and confiscation of properties, counterfeiters would repeat their crimes many times. Fortunately for the counterfeiters, penalties varied from colony to colony, from death to mere fines. A counterfeiter could set up his equipment in a colony with mild penalties and produce the currency of a colony having more drastic punishments.

Professor Scott has devoted a chapter and a half to counterfeiting activities in New Jersey, and there

are references throughout the entire book to the counterfeiting of Jersey currencies or the flights of counterfeiters to Jersey hide-outs. "Counterfeiting in the Jerseys" and "The Pittsylvania and Morristown Gangs" detail the activities of the Jersey counterfeiters. Morris County was a major trouble spot, not helped by the fact that a constable sent after the counterfeiters soon became one himself, and of eleven prisoners committed to the Morris County jail ten escaped. The "Morristown Gang," headed by Samuel Ford, included a mine-owner, justice of the peace (and later church deacon), undersheriff, and a physician—all members of the first families of New Jersey.

With the Revolution and the British decision to counterfeit American currency, "official British counterfeiting and aid and comfort to counterfeiters and passers afforded this type of wrongdoing a stimulus never before known in history. It is little wonder that the new country was plagued by a complaint which had become chronic and which in our own time requires the constant vigilance of the Secret Service." — WALTER H. FLYNN, JR., F.D.U.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

Charles Parsons and His Domain, an Exhibition of Nineteenth Century American Illustration, April 6 through April 27, 1958. (Montclair Art Museum, 1958. 47 p.) Illustrated catalog with introduction by Kathryn E. Gamble.

Dictionary of American Biography, Volume XXII (Supplement Two). EDITED BY ROBERT L. SCHUYLER AND EDWARD T. JAMES. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958. viii, 745 p. Price $25.) The great American biographical project is continued in this, the second supplement and the 22nd volume. The biographies are for persons who died in the period 1936-40. The standards of selection, the succinct accounts, and the critical evaluation of the subjects is all that would be expected. A quick scanning of the volume showed the names of the following persons on whom New Jersey has a fair claim: Arthur Brisbane, Mark Bristol, Wilberforce Eames, Livingston Farrand, Seymour P. Gilbert, William J. Henderson, Charles E. Hires, Leonor F. Loree, George B. McClellan, Charles L. Pack, Walter H. Pollak, Rush Rhees, Robert Ridgway, Henry H. Rusby, and Ernest H. Schelling.

The Old Paramus Church. (Paramus: Paramus Historical and Preservation Society, 1957. 24 p.)

Once a School Now a Museum. (Paramus, 1956? 8 p.) An account of the founding and the headquarters of the Paramus Historical and Preservation Society.

The Pascack Indian Shelter. (Paramus: The Paramus Historical and Preservation Society, 1957? 12 p.)

ARTICLES

"The Ancestors and Descendants of Samuel Spencer," in Chatham Historical Society *Newsletter,* April, 1958.

"Bergen County Gravestones: Redeemer Cemetery, Mahwah

Township," in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* July/October 1958, pp. 52-56.

"Cape May County Is Its Own Planning Region," in *New Jersey County Government,* June 1958, p. 3.

"Colleges of New Jersey: Princeton," by R. D. Schubert, in *New Jersey Bell,* June 1958, pp. 2-5.

"Dr. Nicholas Belleville (1753-1831): Aristocratic Physician," by Fred B. Rogers, in *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey,* Feb. 1958.

"Essex County Gravestones: South Orange Cemetery," *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* July/October 1957, pp. 78-86. Concluded.

(Former Trinity Church, Newark, Rectories) in *The Newark Churchman,* June 1958, p. 6. An illustration and brief account of the home of Mr. and Mrs. W. Clark Symington in Newark.

"General John Beatty (1749-1826): Patriot and Physician," by Fred B. Rogers, in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine,* Jan.-Feb. 1958, pp. 39-45.

"Gloucester County's True Origin," by J. A. Ernest Zimmerman, in *Bulletin of the Gloucester County Historical Society,* June 1958.

"Holgate-Gardiner Bible Record," in *Bulletin of the Gloucester County Historical Society,* June 1958.

"John Christian Harshall of Readington," by Kenn Stryker-Rodda, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* July/October 1957, pp. 49-51.

"Newspaper Items on Revolutionary Soldier, 1820-1824," in *Bulletin of the Gloucester County Historical Society,* June 1958.

"Odyssey of a Santo Dominigan Creole, a Sprightly Account of American Manners by a Regugee from Haiti," by Edward L. Tinker, in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society,* April 1957, p. 33. Includes account of parties in, and trip through, New Jersey in the 1790's.

"The Old Barracks at Trenton: Military Hospital of the Revolution," by Fred B. Rogers, in *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey,* April 1958.

The editor regrets to inform the readers that the foregoing is Mr. Shelley's final contribution to the PROCEEDINGS, *at least in his capacity as a member of the Society's staff. After nearly three years of energetic and resourceful service as librarian of the New Jersey Historical Society, he resigned in June 1958 to become head (effective Sept. 1) of the Presidential Papers Section in the Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Much as his New Jersey colleagues rejoice in Mr. Shelley's professional advancement, his ever-willing help is missed greatly, not only in the library, but also in other areas of the Society's activity.*

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Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company
National Biscuit Company
National Newark & Essex Banking Company
National State Bank
Newark News
Newark Public Library
New Jersey Bell Telephone Company
New Jersey Bank and Trust Company
Passaic-Clifton Herald News of Clifton
Prudential Insurance Company of America (Dryden Memorial Library)
Public Service Electric & Gas Company
Puder & Puder
Radio Corporation of America
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United Advertising Corporation
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